

The Origins of Chavín Culture

Chiaki Kano



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Chiaki Kano

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Introduction

THE VARIOUS PHASES and the chronological sequence of the Formative cultures on the eastern slopes of the Andes in the Huallaga River basin, centered on the Kotosh site, have already been clarified by archaeological surveys (Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972). The existence of pre-Chavín cultures is especially significant with regard to the origins of ancient agricultural civilization in the Andean region. However, several problems remain unsolved in the investigations to date. What is the character of the Mito culture? What is the relation between Mito and Wairajirca, or, in other words, how did the transfer from preceramic into ceramic culture come about? What is the relation between the pre-Chavín and Chavín cultures?

New evidence relating to the pre-Chavín culture has been obtained from the Shillacoto site in the Huanuco basin, which provides important materials for the consideration of the above problems.

This report suggests explanations of the points in question, using mainly specific examples from Shillacoto. The character and the stages of development of the feline cult in the pre-Chavín period are studied in connection with the Chavín culture. Abundant materials from the Wairajirca and Kotosh phases were found at Shillacoto, but the survey of the Mito phase was insufficient, and no traces of the Chavín culture itself were discovered; therefore, reference has been made in the compiling of this paper to the investigations at Kotosh and other sites. It is difficult to ascertain the character of the Mito culture, because, apart from the structures, there is a scarcity of materials to study. Therefore, I have made some speculations in conformance with the normal development stages of primitive religion. The transformation process from Mito into Wairajirca is considered from the standpoint of

pottery production and the introduction of agricultural techniques. Interpretation of the actual conditions and character of the cult of the pre-Chavín period is impossible using only analysis and models based on the archaeological materials; needless to say, knowledge of ethnology and mythology is required as well.

Nowadays, research into this line of study for Mesoamerica and the Andes is flourishing, and archaeologists have made great strides. Of the myths of the Andean region, I am most interested in the concepts of "Jaguar-Men" or the "ancestral jaguar" in tropical South American traditions (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1949-50: 265-6) and "The Jaguar-Shaman Transformation Complex" (Furst 1968: 154-64). These mythological concepts are actually depicted on ceramic material of the pre-Chavín period. A similar mythology and similar religious rites were practiced by the ancient tribes of Siberia and northeast Asia, and were recorded in the ancient dynastic records of China. Not being an authority in this field myself, I have introduced points relevant to the ancient Andean cultures from the work of the Japanese scholar Akihide Mishina (1971).

I believe that the feline cult lies at the heart of the Chavín culture, that it started in the Wairajirca phase in the Huallaga River basin on the eastern slopes of the Andes, and that it continued through the Kotosh phase, reaching a peak in the Chavín period.

In this paper I have tried to trace the process of change from pre-Chavín to Chavín culture, by coordinating archaeological data with the results of investigations in other fields, and to offer some preliminary suggestions on the origins of the Chavín culture.

General Background of Pre-Chavín Culture

DIRECT EVIDENCE is scanty regarding the agricultural and religious development of the Mito, Wairajirca, and Kotosh peoples in the area under investigation. The existence of public buildings built for religious purposes, such as the Templo de las Manos Cruzadas, indicates that life in this area was changing from nomadic to settled, and material that has been uncovered in a series of archaeological investigations shows that, by the Mito phase, vegetables such as beans and lucuma were being cultivated, and animals, such as the llama, the alpaca, and the guinea pig, were being domesticated. In the Wairajirca phase, birds, land mollusks, and marine shellfish were also sources of food. In the Kotosh phase, the appearance of pottery with corncob designs provides positive evidence that maize agriculture was being practiced (Izumi and Sono 1963: 154, Pls. 44a, 135.2). Evidence of corn cultivation was discovered at Ayacucho in the southern highlands (MacNeish 1969; 1970), its age being estimated at 2800-1700 B.C. According to Collier (1962: 168) and Lanning (1967: 67), the cultivation of plants began on the Peruvian coast between 1500 and 1200 B.C., which corresponds approximately to the Kotosh period.

In addition to the plant and animal remains mentioned above, polished lithic objects, stone knives, club or mace heads, and stone *manos* and *metates* dating from the pre-Chavín period have also been discovered. In particular, the stone knife with a cutting edge on one side of the blade and a serrated edge on the other is of a type whose use as a harvesting tool was widespread in the Neolithic age in southeast Asia, China, Korea, Japan, etc.

No textile remains exist from this period, but the discovery of a large number of ceramic spindles shows that woven articles were produced, probably using the hair of the llama and the alpaca.

As we know, religion played a very large role in ancient societies; it was conducted on a community-wide scale, acting as an important factor in the

development of politics, economics, morals, customs, etc., with pervasive effects on both individual and group behavior. It was a bond that provided for the cohesion of social units. Often the leader of the unit—family, clan, or tribe—combined in his person both religious authority and worldly power.

Taking a synthesis of studies in theology, ethnology, anthropology, etc., we find that the primitive religions of most peoples of the world seem to have developed in the following sequence: pre-animism, animism, anthropomorphism. Whether this holds true also for the religious development of peoples in the Andean area is not yet clear, but it seems likely.

Temple constructions of the Mito phase have a common plan. Variations in the scale of building, and the structure of the niches in the inner walls, can be noted, but the position of the fireplace never changes. It is always located in the center of the lower floor. Such a fireplace may have had a purely utilitarian function, such as heating the building, but it seems more probable that it was connected with the performance of a religious cult centered on the idea of sacred fire, probably animistic in inspiration. The consistency of building style points to the maintenance of the same or a similar religious tradition over a long period.

If, as we think, agriculture had started by the Wairajirca phase, then we may expect to find that the harvest became the most important single concern in the lives of the people. Festivals and religious ceremonies would have developed to invoke and seek the favor of divinities who would ensure good harvest and protect against disasters such as earthquakes, famine, and marauding animals. At this stage of religious development, supernatural powers are thought to be present in various types of animals and plants. In the Andean highlands in particular, the jaguar is the most powerful and awe-inspiring figure, though the puma, condor, owl, snake, and monkey, each with its special

powers and qualities, would no doubt take their places in the pantheons of the various tribes of the region. All of these animals appear in representations of the Wairajirca phase. They are realistically depicted, the degree of anthropomorphism being still small.

As agriculture becomes established, population increases and the social structure becomes more complex, bringing into being new functions for tribal leaders. The chief, in most cases, assumes religious authority as well, officiating at ceremonies and playing a part as mediator between worshipers and the deity worshiped. The death of such a person would be important enough to require special ceremonies and offerings in a special place such as the temple constructions we have described.

The Kotosh phase was basically an extension of the preceding Wairajirca culture. There is no proof of the existence of the small platform-like tomb constructions, but the custom of burial in imposing stone tombs was maintained.

Some new design elements appeared in the Kotosh phase. The fangs and claws characteristic of the jaguar became more pronounced (see Pl. xiv; note the bone objects made as offerings in the tombs of this period). In one design, a human head is shown combined with a feline (Pl. xiva). Detailed examination reveals that the jaguar is holding the hair of the human, i.e., the head, in his mouth. An effigy bottle incorporating a very realistic representation of a human face (Izumi, Cuculiza, and Kano 1972: Pl. 27.1), a plate made from a human skull (*ibid.*: Pl. 46.3), and a human skull with mandible, buried intentionally upside-down in a tomb (Izumi and Terada 1972: 308), suggest that human sacrifices were performed, probably in connection with religious ceremonies to the jaguar deity, during the Kotosh phase. Tello (1923: 220-2) and Carrión Cachot (1948: 52-3) speculate that designs in Chavín art that show feline and human heads together imply the existence of human sacrifice. The concept of a sacrificial victim changing into a feline is to be observed in Chavín art.

No evidence regarding this has been discovered

from the Wairajirca phase, but the evidence of the bone objects, the burial of human heads, and the plate made from a human skull, mentioned above, points to the custom of human sacrifice having started before the Chavín period and most probably during the Kotosh phase. If this is indeed the fact, it marks an abrupt change in the religious concepts and ceremonies associated with the jaguar deity. This is only one of the many questions that remain to be answered regarding the developments that preceded Chavín culture.

Myths and legends connected with the sun are observed among ancient peoples the world over; sun worship as such seems to have developed in ancient Egypt, Europe, America, and parts of Asia. During the Wairajirca and Kotosh phases, polished jet mirrors of various sizes and shapes were produced and have been discovered as offerings in pre-Chavín tombs. The mirror, of course, is a most important object of cult activity. In ancient China and Japan, it was associated with sun worship, and mirrors were placed in tombs to protect the persons buried in them from evil spirits. Mirrors were produced not only for use as offerings in tombs, but also for use in ceremonies, as can be deduced from the large numbers found beside the tombs at Shillacoto. As the sun plays such a large role in agricultural life, it is believed that sun-worshiping cults developed together with annual seasonal harvest ceremonies and the like. It has been reported that, in the Inca period, the virgin priestesses used a mirror to obtain new fire from the sun, the mirror being used to reflect the sun's rays during this ceremony. The surfaces of pre-Chavín mirrors are extremely well polished. Some pieces that have been preserved are still capable of reflecting the rays of the sun.

The Aztec Tezcatlipoca ("Smoking Mirror"), the deity of the royal cult, was very closely connected with the conjuring mirror. He was also regarded as the Fire God, the Jaguar, etc. Michael Coe (1972: 5-11) mentions that the Tezcatlipoca mythology originated with the Olmec. Thus, it seems a reasonable assumption that sun worship

developed more or less simultaneously with the development of the jaguar cult. Large numbers of mirrors have been discovered at Olmec sites, and it is interesting to note that the mirror was a symbol of the ruler.

Apart from mirrors, other materials suggestive of sun worship in the pre-Chavín period include representations which are thought to symbolize the Sun God. One example depicts sun rays around a

human face (Pl. XIIa), and another depicts what seem to be sun rays arranged in a triangular design around the eyes of humans or jaguars (Pl. XVIIIg, g and Fig. 9n, o). Other designs show sun symbols used as decorated and polished round protuberances on pieces of pottery (Pl. XVIIIh). These may have been special articles for use in sun-worshiping ceremonies related to the feline cult.

Special Features of the Shillacoto Site

Temple and Pottery

A TEMPLE STRUCTURE, belonging to the Mito phase, and larger in scale than any discovered previously, was found at Shillacoto, accompanied by pottery. Various temple structures were discovered at the Kotosh site, including, in the Mito-phase stratum, the Templo de las Manos Cruzadas; but potsherds were found in none of these. Therefore, it was thought that the Mito-phase culture belonged to the preceramic period. However, at Shillacoto, pottery was discovered in a construction that had the same structural plan as those of the preceramic period. This fact seems to have an important bearing on the relationship between preceramic culture and initial ceramic culture, and may help us understand how the one led to the other. I presented a hypothesis regarding this fact in the previous Shillacoto Excavation Report (Izumi, Cuculiza, and Kano 1972), but, upon further examination of this point, I have reached a new interpretation, which is presented in this chapter. There may be some overlapping between this description and parts of the previously published report, but this is unavoidable in order to develop the argument.

First, I should like to make an explanation regarding the temple. The excavations at Shillacoto have not yet been completed, so it is impossible to know accurately the scale of the temple. However,

using part of the surrounding wall discovered so far, and the lower and upper floors, the full size is estimated to be about 15 meters by 15 meters in area and about 3 meters in height. A large number of niches were placed in the wall which stood between the upper and lower floors, and a fireplace was installed in the central part of the lower floor. There is an entrance on the west side of the construction, and the upper floor is connected to the encircling wall outside. It cannot be ascertained whether this was a passageway running along the temple or whether it belonged to another temple.

At Kotosh, the Mito-phase culture can be divided into at least three distinct phases; they correspond in chronology to the Templo de los Nichitos in the upper stratum, to the Templo de las Manos Cruzadas in the middle stratum, and to the Templo Blanco in the bottom stratum. A basic plan, common to all these structures, can be observed, although size and construction details are different for each. To summarize: each of these was constructed on a platform; there are niches on the inside walls of the structures; the floors have two levels, upper and lower; the central portion of the floor has a depression just like a sunken fireplace; and there is also a fireplace in the center of the lower floor. There is some doubt whether these constructions were temples or not; however, owing to the existence of the Manos Cruzadas reliefs, we believe that they were

probably public structures which had a religious function.

No pottery was discovered at Kotosh in the stratum that contained these constructions, although lithic and bone objects, ornaments, and small ceramic figurines were found. For this reason, we have assigned these constructions to the preceramic period. It may be thought strange that a temple-like construction should appear in a period for which there is no pottery or evidence of the beginning of agriculture, but other examples like this have been found in the coastal region (Engel 1966; Lanning 1967: 57-79).

However, as far as the type and stratigraphic level are concerned, the temple construction discovered at Shillacoto corresponds chronologically with the Templo de los Nichitos of the upper stratum of the Kotosh-Mito phase. Moreover, a partial trench excavation confirmed the fact that there were two separate temples buried under the bottom stratum of this construction.

The problem is, as mentioned previously in the report on Shillacoto, that large numbers of potsherds were discovered in this temple. If Shillacoto had been excavated before the other sites, this construction would probably have been judged as being Wairajirca phase because the pottery styles are all of Wairajirca type. However, according to the investigations conducted thus far, this construction style is peculiar to the Mito phase, and it is clear that this type of construction did not originate in the Wairajirca phase.

During the excavation of the temple, it seemed probable that the so-called "standing wall," which connects the upper and lower floors of the temple, was originally decorated with niches, but these were found to have been filled with small and large ashlars which had been added later to strengthen the wall. Also, the upper surface of the lower floor had been hardened by packing red-brown clay to a depth of about 20 centimeters, the floor surface was newly laid, and a stone tomb belonging to the Wairajirca phase was then constructed on top. The place where the surrounding wall was added to on

the west side of the temple is clearly visible, showing that the temple was enlarged at a later time.

On either side of the wall extension, two small platform-like buildings were constructed. These may be stone tombs of the Wairajirca phase, but we cannot be sure because the interiors have not yet been excavated.

Considering the above facts, we seem justified in thinking that the construction, originally built during the Mito phase, was restored, reinforced, extended, and used again during the Wairajirca phase. Of course, there is no evidence available to contradict the opinion that this construction was built during the Wairajirca phase. However, in the Huallaga River basin, when cultures changed, the constructions of the former were destroyed or buried with stones or sand, a platform foundation was newly constructed, and the new structure built on top of it. In other words, a change of culture or cultural tradition brings about a change in the construction style. There are cases where buildings of the previous culture are used during the succeeding cultures, but these are exceptional. If we adopt the first hypothesis, that the temple at Shillacoto was constructed in the Mito phase and continued to be used during the Wairajirca phase, then we reach the conclusion that both cultures are part of the same cultural tradition, the Wairajirca culture being a continuation and development of the tradition of the Mito culture.

However, the most difficult point to reconcile in this problem is the pottery. The Wairajirca-style pottery discovered so far belongs to the oldest pottery culture in this region and, in this sense, is archaic, but the pottery is exquisitely made. Taking technique and development into account, it is impossible to think that this was the earliest pottery. A prototype must exist somewhere else. However, nothing that could be such a prototype was found in the stratum of the Mito phase, and, furthermore, just as in the case of the Kotosh site, absolutely no pottery existed in the Mito stratum. From the aspect of ceramic culture, there is a distinct break between the Mito and Wairajirca phases. We can see two

possibilities regarding the introduction of pottery. One is the introduction of knowledge and techniques alone, the other the immigration of a group possessing such knowledge and techniques. If the former is the case, then the problem is not so great. The origin of this pottery is another problem altogether. However, the fact that there were various types of pottery with complex shapes and well-established designs and decoration patterns, all existing at the same time and manufactured in great quantity, leads us to believe that the pottery was introduced as a result of immigration into the area by a group possessing highly developed ceramic-manufacturing techniques.

We can be fairly sure that the Mito culture at this time had already become well settled in this area, because of the fact, noted above, that the basic style of temple construction was carried on continuously over a long period. If the Wairajirca culture was an immigrant culture from outside, it is difficult to believe that the transfer of the Mito culture into the Wairajirca culture, or the change between the two cultures, occurred only in the medium of pottery. A gradual change must have occurred in other areas too, such as agricultural techniques, social structure, and the methods and tools of daily life. Indeed, it may be observed that the majority of the lithic objects that are to be found in the Formative period of the Andean area are already present in the Wairajirca phase.

Whichever is the case, it is clear from our Shillacoto investigations that there was little difference chronologically between the Mito and Wairajirca cultures, and that there were some connections between them. To summarize this relationship: the oldest Formative culture in this area either developed directly based on the preceramic culture known as Mito or developed as the result of the immigration into this area of another group that merged with the Mito people, who were the earlier inhabitants. This is a very important problem, related to the origins of the Andean civilization, and we look forward to more investigations in the future.

Tombs and Funerary Offerings

By the time of the Wairajirca and Kotosh phases at Shillacoto, elaborate stone tombs were being built, and an abundance of funerary offerings was consigned to them. This was discussed in detail in the previous report (Izumi, Cuculiza, and Kano 1972). The people who were buried in these tombs were, in all likelihood, not ordinary people but members of a special class. We conclude that social class stratification had already started by that time. The special social class here would have been the ruling class in an agricultural village community—that is, the village chief and those second in authority under him. The tombs, especially those of the Wairajirca phase, were small and platform-like in shape, and we think that they were above the ground at that time. It is reasonable to suppose that this site was not used simply for daily life but had special significance for holding rites and religious events. By rites I mean agricultural ceremonies to pray for a good harvest, and by religious events I mean ceremonies associated with the burial of the priest-chief who performed the rites. Confirmation of the special character of this site can be found by examining the other artifacts found here.

Artifacts

A rich variety of materials was obtained from the pre-Chavín-period strata at Shillacoto. By far the most pottery was from the Wairajirca phase, and it is superior in design and manufacture to any found so far in other sites in the Huallaga River basin. The reason for this, I believe, was that pottery was produced here especially for the rites and religious events that took place on this site. Among the various types, pottery bearing feline or anthropomorphic representations was numerous. This fact also points to the special significance of this site.

Representations that seem to symbolize the sun or are reminiscent of the Jaguar-Man were also discovered in small numbers. All of these repre-

sentations are a valuable guide to the essential nature of the religious culture of this time. Not only do they throw light on the special character of Shillacoto, but they also furnish important evidence

for clarifying the nature of pre-Chavín culture in the highlands.

In the next section, I develop the inquiry by examining these representations in some detail.

Feline and Anthropomorphic Representations

The Ceramic Feline Representations

THERE ARE MANY DESIGNS or decorations with the feline motif on the pottery of Shillacoto. All of these are of the Wairajirca and Kotosh phases and are thus important materials for tracing the relationship with the Chavín culture. A wide variety of types of feline representations was found, ranging from extremely realistic to highly abstract ones that are close to being geometric in design. These representations were depicted on various types of pottery of the pre-Chavín period, and in especially large numbers on the Shillacoto Incised and the Modeled types of pottery. In addition, there are similarities in terms of decoration or design among the representations on each. For these reasons, we will classify the feline representations according to the pottery type.

(a) Shillacoto Zoned Hachure Type A (Pl. 1a-h and Fig. 1)

There are various types of pottery that are classified under the heading Zoned Hachure, and differences were observed in the feline designs according to the quality of the pottery. The category designated as Type A is of superior quality, the pot wall is extremely thin, about 4 millimeters thick at the rim and about 2 millimeters for the body on which the feline representations are described. The entire pot surface is smoothly polished and reddish brown in color.

With this type of pottery, it is probable that the makers intended to give a three-dimensional shape

to the representation, because part of the body is pushed out about 2-3 centimeters and the design is usually found on this portion. In most cases, the face of the feline representation is arranged vertically. The special feature of the depiction of the face is that the eyebrows and nose are joined together by two parallel incised lines; the band in between is filled with short, hatched line incisions. This form is one type of Zoned Hachure pattern; it is generally U-shaped. The eyes are depicted by a circle and dot, and the nostrils by dots. The mouth is described in a unique style, entirely different from that of the rest of the face. It is outlined very clearly by a narrow, deep, sharp, incised line. The shape is rectangular, with both ends slightly turned up. The mouth is wide open and stretches almost across the entire width of the face. The teeth are also carved with sharp incision in vertical lines at almost-equal intervals. At both ends of the mouth, there are two triangular shapes representing sharp fangs. Usually the eyebrows, nose, and eyes were filled in, after firing, with red pigment, the nostrils with white pigment, and the mouth and teeth with yellow. There are many examples of a feline representation that is surrounded by a square-shaped Zoned Hachure design band, and, outside that, by an arrangement of geometric patterns such as a circle and dot, rectangles, triangles, or crosses.

Plate 1a and Figure 1a are characteristic examples of representations of this type; however, there can be a number of variations in the details of description. For instance, the eyebrows are pointed at the ends, two small whiskers are shown leading up

from the ends of the mouth, all the teeth are shown as a row of interlocking triangular shapes, the mouth is a completely different shape (represented by three linked triangles), there are triangular-shaped hatched patterns on the forehead, the nose and eyebrows form a T-shape, and there are no fangs.

In spite of these differences in the detailed descriptions of the feline representations belonging to the Zoned Hachure Type A, this type is quantitatively the largest compared with all other classifications. Although the technical methods were different from those of this type, basically similar patterns exist in Chavín style and Paracas-style pottery. As an example of Chavín style, the black stirrup-spout jar, decorated with a feline motif (Larco Hoyle 1941: Fig. 211), which was discovered on the northern coast of Peru at Cupisnique, is typically Chavín. Here the relief feline representations cover the whole body of the pot; it corresponds closely with the Shillacoto feline representation in its basic style of depicting the forehead, nose, and eyes. For an example of the Paracas style, reference is made to a series of double-spout-and-bridge jars with incised feline motifs that were discovered on the southern coast in the Ica Valley (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964: Figs. 3-5). This type of pottery is decorated with negative painting, but the feline representation is basically depicted by incision, and the special characteristics of the face are generally similar to those of Shillacoto, the description of the teeth and fangs in both cases corresponding to a surprising degree. In addition, both types closely resemble each other in associated geometric patterns such as the circle and dot, steps, etc.

(b) *Shillacoto Zoned Hachure Type B* (Pl. 11-m and Fig. 2a-e)

The pottery classified as Type B is thick and rather coarse in texture. The feline design depicted on this type of pottery is somewhat crude in technique and is roughly polished. The example in Plate 11 and Figure 2a is of comparatively better quality than the others of this type, and the design is unique. Almost all feline patterns belonging to the Zoned Hachure

type show the front view, but, in this case, the profile is displayed. The mouth is complete but the eyebrows are shown on only one side while the nose is omitted. Above the eyebrow is a wavy line which may indicate either a stripe or a wrinkle.

On the left side of the face, as we look at the picture, there is also a design depicting an arm and a feline paw. Examples of this sort of composition, on which some other part of the body is included along with the face and shown on the same surface, are to be found in the stone carvings of the Danzante figures at Monte Albán, Mexico, and the relief figures at Cerro Sechín in the Casma Valley in Peru. On pottery, this is very rare.

The nose is omitted from the design in Plate 1m and Figure 2b, but the eyebrows continue down to show the line of the bridge of the nose. The eyes are almond-shaped and turn downwards. The mouth is wide open, and the teeth are shown. The technique, however, is crude. Triangular designs are arranged at the center of the forehead and below the lower cheeks.

The three examples shown in Plate 1j-l and Figure 2c-e belong to almost the same design pattern, the representations being extremely simplified and bold in design.

Careful examination of these three designs reveals the gradual process of simplification of the feline representation. First, all the features—eyebrows, nose, eyes, and mouth—are depicted; next, the eyes and nose are omitted; and, finally, the eyebrows, nose, and mouth are joined into one U-shaped pattern. It is important to note that the U-shaped pattern developed from a gradual simplification of the feline representation. It also appears as a geometric design on pottery discovered at Kotosh (Izumi and Sono 1963: Pls. 44a, 135.2) and Paucarbamba (Izumi and Terada 1972: Pls. 37a.8, 110.13), in the Huallaga River basin. In these cases, the U-shaped design is combined with a stylized corn cob design. Coe (1962: 579-80) has already pointed out the similarity between the Kotosh example and the Olmec style. In addition to the feline representations discovered at this time at Shillacoto,

there are also some U-shaped designs (Pls. xv, xvi) which suggest further connections with the aforementioned Kotosh and Olmec styles. The subject of the U-shaped geometric pattern will be taken up in a later paragraph, but here I wish to emphasize the importance of this design motif, which hints at connections with Chavín and Olmec cultures.

(c) *Shillacoto Zoned Hachure Type C* (Pl. IIa-g and Fig. 2f-l)

The representations belonging to this type are generally found in combination with excised designs, of which geometric designs such as the step, cross, and small rectangle are very numerous. This pottery with excised design can be separated into two different types, those with fine and coarse qualities.

The pottery shown in Plate IIa and Figure 2f is of the fine type. In this case, the feline representation is extremely simplified. The outline of the face is depicted by a band of zoned hachure with only the eyes depicted within; a large number of dots are punched into the surface of the face. The description of the face, though simple, captures powerfully the characteristic features of a feline. The pottery is extremely hard and thin; the surface is well polished and has a black-brown gloss. Other fragments of this type of feline representation were discovered but are few in number.

The examples in Plate IIb-g and Figure 2g-l belong to the coarse type; they were unearthed in large numbers from the bottom stratum of the Wairajirca phase and are thought to be early versions of the Zoned Hachure type. The basic design used in this pattern is circle-and-dot, but in this case the eyeball is depicted by the excision technique and is scooped out big and round. The eyes are very close together, and the overall pattern is reminiscent of an S-shape.

(d) *Shillacoto Deep Incised Type* (Pl. IIh and Fig. 3a)

This is a unique type of pottery, the surface color varying from grey to light brown. The wall is about 6-7 millimeters thick, and is made from fine

grained clay. It is high-quality pottery, showing skillful firing.

The design technique is closer to an engraving technique than to incision, producing an effect of deep relief. The feline representation corresponds basically with the Zoned Hachure type, the eyebrows and nose being joined into the open U-shape. The area inside the incision is decorated with small dots. The mouth is a large rectangle, and the teeth are shown. There is post-fired coloring in the incised portions. Feline representations belonging to this type are comparatively few in number.

(e) *Broad-Line Incised Type* (Pl. III-n and Fig. 3b-g)

There was some doubt whether the objects belonging to this type could be classified in one group, as the feline representations are all different; therefore, it was decided to classify them according to pottery type and description technique.

The example in Plate III and Figure 3b probably could be said to be Zoned Hachure pottery, except that it is blackish-brown in color and relatively thick. The feline representation is large in scale; the eyebrows and nose are depicted together by means of three parallel, curved, broad, incised lines; and the mouth is a very large curve reaching to points just beneath the eyes. The shape of the mouth is basically rectangular, with rounded corners. The teeth are also shown. This representation has post-fired coloring.

The representation in Plate IIj and Figure 3c is again a large-scale one. The eyebrows and nose are described much as in the Fine-Line Incised type, which is mentioned in the next section. The forehead is V-shaped. The eyes are circle-and-dot pattern; the mouth is a small arc, but the fangs are not shown. Note that the space lying between the two parallel lines that describe the eyebrows and nose is filled with a hachure pattern of short fine-line incisions. The examples shown in Plate IIk, 1 and Figure 3d, e are very simple and have no special features, but, in the first case the eyebrows and nose form a V-shape and there is a triangular design on

the forehead. In the latter case, the eyebrows and nose are U-shaped. Both examples have post-fired coloring in the incised parts.

Plate IIIm and Figure 3f show a very realistic representation. It is seen on a part of the surface that has been pushed out from the inside; moreover, the outlines of the face, the ears, the nose, and the mouth have all been subjected to secondary finishing with a modeling technique. The lines on the forehead and the whiskers are described by broad-line incision, while the eyes and nostrils are shown by dot or punctuation. The incised portions were post-fired painted with three colors: red, white, and yellow. There is a possibility that this is not a feline representation but an ursine; however, no other descriptions of a bear have been found. It is difficult to determine exactly what this design represents.

I think that Plate IIIn and Figure 3g show an abstract variation of the above representation. The eyebrows are depicted as one V-shaped line on the forehead, but the whiskers and the style of mouth resemble those of the previous example. In both cases, the heads are depicted as running horizontally along the rim. As with the previous representation, it is difficult to judge whether or not this piece depicts a feline. For the time being, both are included here with the feline representations. The geometric design that is combined with the representation is found on many examples of the same type of pottery, but, in those cases, the design runs around the body of the pot in a spiral to form one continuous design band. Since, in this example, the representation is placed at the end of the spiral design, it might be intended to show a reptile such as a snake, lizard, or alligator.

(f) Fine-Line Incised Type (Pl. IIIa-i and Fig. 4a-i)

Some of the basic design patterns of the pottery of this type bear a strong resemblance to the aforementioned Zoned Hachure type. In particular, similarity can be observed in the following respects: two parallel line incisions encircle the pot just below the rim; the area upon which the representations are

described is pushed out from the inside and is enclosed in a square partition in the design band; circle and dot, and other geometric designs, are arranged outside that partition. However, in this type of representation, the area from the nose to the eyebrows does not form a U-shape but is shown as a single-line design band; thus, the forehead is V-shaped, or like an inverted triangle. Also, there is no standard style of representation; the variations include hachure, applied here and there in the design band. The eyes are uniformly depicted by circle and dot, but the mouth is quadrangular and of no standard size. The incised parts have post-fired painting.

The example in Pl. IIIi and Fig. 4i is somewhat different in style, with emphasis on the eyes and nose. The nose and eyebrows are depicted joined together as one, and the design band enclosed by parallel-line incision is filled by hachure. Beneath the nose on either side of the nostrils are two horizontal incised lines that indicate whiskers. The mouth is also simply described by a single-line incision. Several horizontal parallel-line incisions are arranged in the U-shaped space between the eyebrows. A simplified version of this representation is often seen, with the eyes described by big concentric circles with parallel incised lines between them. On the other hand, there are large numbers of geometric designs derived from this type of feline representation that consist of circles and triangular shapes in combination (see Figs. 10, 15).

(g) Shillacoto Grooved Type (Pl. IVa-h and Fig. 5a-h)

Many of the pots of this type are large vessels with wide everted rims. They were produced continuously from the Wairajirca until the Kotosh phase. However, pots bearing feline representations were especially numerous among the Wairajirca-phase pieces.

Plate IVa-d and Figure 5a-d show the most common type of representation, which is on the lower part of the body of the pot, touching the bottom. Simple grooved incision is used, and the eyebrows are depicted by two parallel, curved lines at top and bottom. Generally the eyes are turned downwards,

but there are some that have fierce, upturned eyes. In Plate 4v*d* and Figure 5*d*, the eyebrows and the outline of the face are depicted by sets of joined, round, concentric incisions. The facial features are placed in the upper part. The two examples shown in Plate 4v*e*, *f* and Figure 5*e*, *f* are simple depictions, but the expressions are quite realistic. The mouth of the first is rectangular with rounded corners, while the mouth of the second has punctuation at both ends, suggesting fangs. These two representations might have formed the two halves of a pair. Part of the face is missing in Plate 4v*g* and Figure 5*g*, but the feline characteristics are apparent.

(h) *Black or Brown Polished Incised Type (Pl. 4vi–n)*

There are two kinds of feline representations on this type of pottery. One is placed independently on the rim of bowls as an appliquéd decoration or *adorno* (Pl. 4vi), and the other consists of descriptions of the feline face, fangs, paws, or claws incised on the body of the pottery (Pl. 4vj–m). In the first type, the majority of examples show only the face; the whole outline of the face, ears, and nose are described by a modeling technique, while the small wrinkles on the forehead, nose, mouth, whiskers, and other facial details are described by incision. After firing, the incisions were filled with red, white, and yellow pigment. In this type of feline representation, there is no emphasis on either teeth or fangs. Almost none of the decoration of Chavín-style pottery bears any resemblance to the feline representations in this group. However, a large number were observed in the pottery found at Paracas on the southern coast of Peru (see Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964: Figs. 3–5).

The example in Plate 4vn and Figure 5i is comparatively small in size and of the Brown Polished Incised type. The representation is placed horizontally along the rim of the pottery. Once again, the pottery surface has been pushed out from the inside, and the representation is depicted on this protuberance. The ears and nose are realistically described by modeling. The eyes are shown by grooved incisions slanting upwards at a sharp angle. The V-

shaped eyebrows and the mouth, which is outlined along the bottom of the jaw, are depicted by single-line incision, and great similarity, both in the technique of depiction and in the physical characteristics of the whole face, can be observed between this and the Broad Line type (Fig. 3g), shown previously.

(i) *Shillacoto Modeled Type (Pl. 4vo–t and Fig. 3h–m)*

Three surface colors—red, brown, and black—are distinguishable in this type of pottery. The representations are generally realistic. The technique used was mainly that of modeling, with the details of the face described by incision or appliquéd.

Though part of the Brown Modeled type representation in Plate 4vo and Figure 3h is missing, the description clearly shows the head and part of a whole body in a crouching position, seen from the side. In Plate 4vp, q and Figure 3i, j, only fragments of the face parts were discovered, but it seems probable that the bodies, paws, and legs were represented, too, and that both of these were of the Black Modeled type. In the former, the face part was greatly pushed out from inside, and the eyebrows and nose were clearly depicted by a single, U-shaped, grooved incision. The nostrils were made by dots inside that incision. The mouth is big and rectangular, and the teeth are shown as a continuous design of interlocking triangles. The latter is probably the same type of representation as this. All three examples belong to the Wairajirca phase.

The example in Plate 4vr and Figure 3k is blackish-brown, the entire surface has been well polished, and it belongs to a high-quality type of ceramic. The representation is also carefully and superbly made. We believe that this head was made separately and affixed to part of a pot as an *adorno* decoration. Details such as the outline of the whole face, the ears, eyes, nose, and mouth were well finished with modeling technique. The special characteristics of this representation are the sharply pointed fangs at either end of the widely open mouth. The teeth are shown by incision, and the fangs at each end are shaped by modeling. White and red pigments were painted in the mouth after firing. The eyes are

different from those of the other representations, and are affixed as small pellets. The whole work is extremely realistic, and can be seen instantly to represent either a jaguar or a puma. Examples such as this, in which the fangs are bared, are quite rare.

Plate IVs and Figure 31 seem to depict a puma, for the characteristic features of a puma are skillfully described. The long nose, connecting with the eyebrows, forms a long U-shape; the eyes are indicated by large round pellets. This representation is reddish-brown in color and was well polished all over. The above two examples belong to the Kotosh phase.

The representation in Plate IVt and Figure 3m belongs to the Grooved type and was made by pushing the pot wall out considerably from the inside. This representation has something in common with a human face, but feline characteristics are apparent in the ears and in the outline of the face.

The Ceramic Anthropomorphic Representations

There are a large number of anthropomorphic representations, most of which were produced as surface decorations on pottery, as in the case of feline representations; however, a very small number appear in the form of independent figurines. The type of pottery from which these representations were made is limited to several specific types. Usually the representations appear on Grooved, Red Modeled, and Purple Red types; there are, however, a small number of superb representations on Black Polished Incised and Punctuated Incised types. In regard to the shapes of the pottery, there are many wide-mouthed, deep bowls and triangle-shaped bowls with everted rims. Although there are some pots with only one representation, pots with a pair of representations symmetrically arranged are more common. Among these, the facial features of the two representations are sometimes similar, but examples have been found in which the detailed fea-

tures of the faces are completely different and show extreme contrast.

Classification of the anthropomorphic representations is based on the type of pottery and the technique used to make the representation, these types being further arranged into various subtypes according to facial features and special forms.

Type A

Representations belonging to this type were discovered in the Wairajirca stratum, and most examples were on pottery of the Shillacoto Red Grooved, Red Modeled, and Purple Red types. Description of the face was comparatively simple; it was made on part of the surface of the pot, which had been pushed out from the inside; the eyes, nose, mouth, and so on were described with grooved incision and punctuation. This type was the most common, and, because there were slight differences in size of face, physical details, and description method, it was further divided into three subtypes.

Subtype A-1 (Pl. va-e): In this type, the face is comparatively small, usually measuring between 3 and 4 centimeters in diameter. Generally, the face is circular, although slightly wider than it is high. Of the external features of the face, the forehead and the area around the mouth project the most, and the central part in which the eyes are located is concave. The space between the eyes is quite wide compared with other representations. The outline of the face is framed with shallow grooved incision, and the eyes are described by two short, narrow, crescent shapes carved one above the other. When the two carved depressions are very close together, so that the extremities link up, a thin raised line of clay is left in the middle, producing a shape like a coffee bean. However, these eyes are technically, and in basic style, different from those found in Central American clay figurines. The area from the bottom of the nose to the mouth slopes outwards; the nose itself is not shaped, except very rarely when the nostrils are shown by punctuation. The mouth is comparatively simply, almost carelessly, described by shallow grooved incision.

Subtype A-2 (Pl. vf-k): The face is a little larger than those in Subtype A-1, between 4 and 5.5 centimeters in diameter, but the description method is similar. Again, the width of the face is greater than the height. The eyes are quite large and both are slightly upturned at the ends. The two semicircular shapes forming the eyes are not as close together as in Subtype A-1, and, when the ends do not meet, the upper one resembles an eyebrow. The nostrils are described by punctuation, and the incision depicting the mouth is deep and long. In the example shown in Plate vj, predominant parts of the face protrude considerably, the facial features are sharply incised, and the whole face is angular, so that it has a fierce expression.

Subtype A-3 (Pl. via-e): This subtype is basically no different from the two described above, but the face size is larger, about 6 centimeters in diameter, and the outline of the face is almost circular. There are three types of eyes: one with the ends turned up, another with the ends turned down slightly, and one in which they are straight. Characteristically, the mouth is described as a large grimace. The face shapes in Plate via and b may be a pair.

The three types of representations in Type A above were all unearthed from the lowest stratum of the Wairajirca phase at Shillacoto and are thought to be the oldest design type.

Type B

This type is characterized by certain feline elements in the face. It was with unexpected good fortune that a potsherd bearing a pair of representations was unearthed during these excavations (Pl. vii); from this example, we gained useful clues concerning the way in which these types of representations were originally combined and the meaning and functions of the pottery to which these representations were attached. One of the pair definitely has jaguar-like traits added to the description of the mouth. The other of this pair seems to be an ordinary representation, a glance revealing no special features; however, upon careful examination of the facial details, feline characteristics become apparent.

There are a large number of variations in form in the representations classified here as Type B, and there may be examples that do not seem to warrant inclusion in this group. However, they all share mixed human and feline traits, and I have ventured to make this classification based on these representational similarities. Moreover, there are differences in the degree to which the feline characteristics are present, and, accordingly, this group has been divided into two subtypes.

Subtype B-1 (Pls. viib and viii): Plate vii shows the pair of representations that was mentioned previously. This potsherd belongs to the Punctated Incised type of the Wairajirca phase. The faces are extremely realistic and elaborately finished. They are quite long, measuring about 6 by 4.5 centimeters. The entire face portions are greatly pushed out from the inside of the pot, and the face surface is finished by a secondary process. The forehead portion of the representation in Plate viib bulges conspicuously; also the upper and lower jaws project outward to give the appearance of a monkey-like face. The whole surface was finished with a spatula-type tool and polished smoothly. The traces of this finishing are clearly visible on the narrow bridge of the nose. The top and bottom of the eyes are clearly outlined by two large, curved, deeply grooved incised lines. The space between the eyes is extremely narrow, almost meeting the bridge of the nose, and, at the outer ends, the corners of the eyes are turned up markedly. The nose is a realistic depiction of a human nose, and the bridge is quite high. The holes made to show the nostrils are deeply drilled. The most noteworthy aspect of this representation is the depiction of the mouth. It is open wide, baring the teeth, and rectangular in shape with rounded corners, a form that was discovered on all manner of representations at Shillacoto, and was used as the typical style in all cases where feline characteristics were to be indicated.

The potsherd in Plate viia is of the Purple Red type and was also unearthed from the Wairajirca stratum. About 5.5 centimeters in diameter, the face is nearly circular. The forehead is wide and

protrudes considerably, and the entire face surface is cleanly polished. At the bottom of the forehead, where the eyebrows should be, there is a single, shallow, incised line carved horizontally, parallel with the mouth; just beneath this line, the eyes are depicted by angular curved incisions in the crescent-moon shape. This emphasis on the center of the face produces an intense expression and gives the powerful effect of almost-jaguar-like eyes. The nose itself is not shaped, but it is suggested by the widely spaced flared nostrils. The mouth is defined by a deep, steady incision, stretching from left to right, and the ends of the mouth are slightly turned up.

The example in Plate *viiiib* belongs to the Purple Red type, and, according to the formal characteristics, this can definitely be thought to belong to the same group as the representation above. However, it was discovered in an ash layer between the Wairajirca and the Kotosh strata. A long incision is cut horizontally, almost in the center of the face, and beneath it are the eyes; the technique seems rather artless. Both eyes are slightly turned down. The shapes of the nostrils and mouth are identical to those mentioned previously.

The type in Plate *viiic* is Purple Red, and, because of the physical characteristics, this too is adjudged to be of the same type. It was discovered in the upper part of the Kotosh stratum. The eyes are almond-shaped and slant upwards at the ends, a common way of describing eyes. The tip of the nose was slightly shaped by modeling, and the nostrils were made by extremely large punctations about 10 millimeters in diameter. The mouth was outlined by grooved incision in the rectangular form with rounded corner style; at either end of the mouth, there is a large punctuation.

There are also two other representations with the same sort of jaguar-like mouth, although the pottery types and the physical characteristics are slightly different from the examples above. They are shown in Plate *viiif, g*. Both are of the Black Polished Incised type, and were unearthed from the Wairajirca stratum. In each example, part of the face,

eyes, or nose is missing, but the physical characteristics are easily confirmed. Although the eyes are once again almond-shaped, the technique in these cases is not incision; the eyeballs are shaped by broad-line engraving. Also, the eyes slant downwards. In the former example, the end of the nose is missing, but, from what is available, we can determine that the nose was described realistically, with a high bridge and the tip clearly shaped by modeling. A moustache is shown below the nose, marked by a curved incised line. The mouth is a little different from the rest, a special feature being the wide, thick lips. In the latter case, the nose itself is not described clearly, though the nostrils are large. The mouth is indicated by a combination of rectangular shapes and dot-ending lines, as in the previous examples. These two representations might have been different halves of a pair.

Subtype B-2 (Pl. *ix*): As has been explained, the representation in Plate *viiic* is one of a pair. It is 6 centimeters by 5.5 centimeters; the face outline is roundish with high cheeks, and, compared with its counterpart, the facial expression is calm and feminine. The nose is realistically described by modeling, the bridge is low, and the tip is round. The eyes are carved by incision and are sharply slanted. The mouth is wide and strong, described by a large incision in the dot-ending-line style. This representation is used as one of the standards for classification of the B-2 subtype. Although it is doubtful that all the following examples actually fall into this category, the representations in this group have been placed in this category because of similarity in physical characteristics, especially in feline features.

The pottery in Plate *ixg* is of the Black Polished Incised type, and, in Plate *ixd* of the Brown Polished Incised type, and both belong to the Wairajirca phase. Both of them have eyes and mouths described by large grooved lines. In the first case, the forehead and chin are extremely pronounced; also, the eyes have been painted with red pigment, and the nostrils with yellow pigment. In the second case, the whole face protrudes, with each portion colored with dif-

ferent pigment; the eyes are white, the nostrils yellow, and the mouth red. Both were about 5 centimeters in diameter.

The shards in Plate viiiC, d are of the Shillacoto Grooved type; both were unearthed from the Kotosh stratum. The eyes are extremely large and almond-shaped, and the mouths are of the dot-ending-line type. The tips of the noses of both were shaped by pinching, but the nostrils of the former are large and close together, while they are quite widely spaced in the latter. The facial expression of both displays feline elements.

Type C (Pl. xa–e)

The representations belonging to this type have no special characteristic features, but it is noteworthy that they were all unearthed from the bottom stratum of the Kotosh phase. They probably represent one type from this phase. The faces are about 4–5 centimeters in diameter and are nearly circular in shape. The eyes are comparatively large and comprise two half-moon-shaped incisions forming the familiar almond-shaped eye. The face portions are not so uneven; generally the central part protrudes.

Type D (Pl. xia–g)

As the Kotosh phase commenced, the representations became gradually smoother and flatter, and, at the same time, the special monkey-like characteristics diminished and the facial expressions became more human. Type D is suitable for such Flat Face types. Plate xia, b shows two examples that were found in the layer between the Wairajirca and Kotosh strata; the faces are comparatively flat, and the eyes are shown by two parallel, deep-grooved incisions which indicate a gradual trend towards separation of the two parts, with the upper one becoming the eyebrow and the lower one the eye. The mouths are comparatively small in size with the same type of incision that is used for the eyes.

Plate xid–f shows representative examples of Type D. This type of representation is common among the Shillacoto Grooved Red and the Purple

Red types of pottery. The average size for the face is 6–7 centimeters in diameter. The face portion is slightly higher than the pottery surface but is entirely flat and lacking in expression. The eyes and mouth are made by very deep incisions, and the nostrils are drilled deeply, giving an effect of something like relief. The proportions of the whole face make the representation steady and strong.

Monkey-like traits have almost disappeared from the human faces in this type of representation. Also the eyebrows are clearly shown independent of, and separate from, the eyes. Vessels with representations of human faces discovered in the Kotosh site all belong to this Type D classification.

The example in Plate xig is of Black Polished Incised type pottery and belongs to the Wairajirca phase; although the upper part of the face is missing, it too is of the Flat Face type.

Miscellaneous Types (Pl. xii)

In addition to the types described above, there are representations of the human face with extremely feline characteristics. Those in Plate xiib, c belong to the Wairajirca phase, but, because the materials are fragmentary, it is uncertain whether they were made as decoration for pottery or as independent figurines. Plate xiib appears to show a profile representation, but, on close examination of the broken edge, it was found that a complete face was originally depicted. The special features of these images are the large curved-line design at the top of the forehead and the large mouth resembling that of a jaguar. The latter representation has wide lines incised in a vertical direction, reminiscent of hair, but it cannot be ascertained whether this is a headdress or headgear because only a small shard was available. The eyes slant upwards considerably. We are justified in speculating that these may have been representations of shamans. The material used to make them is extremely fine-grained clay, but the surfaces were not smoothed, the original porous surface was left.

There were other representations of human faces in a variety of types and sizes (Pl. xiiid–j), but it was difficult to ascertain the characteristic features, as very few complete pieces were found.

Of the birds represented, the most common is the owl. Plate xiiij, k shows pottery of the Fine-Line Incised type. The depictions appear slightly feline because both the nostrils and the mouth are shown; however, the triangular mouth can be thought of as the two-dimensional description of a beak, and the special characteristics of the whole face give a strong impression of an owl. In the examples in Plate xiiia–f, the faces are described on a protuberance in the pot surface. In these cases, the beak is depicted three-dimensionally by modeling. In addition, a large quantity of pottery was found bearing designs of small birds, which were painted in three colors after firing.

There is one more group of representations in which it is impossible to be sure what animal is described. The pottery belongs to the Broad-Line Incised type, and the representation is depicted horizontally along the rim of the pot. The depiction in Plate xiiig, h is very realistic; the ears, eyes, and nose are shown clearly, and, although they can be thought of as feline representations, it is hard to be sure. Other representations are extremely abstract, and, again, it is difficult to understand what is described. However, comparing the three examples from Plate xiiih–j, distinctive features, such as the outline of the face, the wrinkles on the forehead, the knobs indicating the ears, and the vertical line dividing the center, are common to all. Because of these similarities, the representations can be thought of as abstract forms of the realistic depictions previously described. They may also be descriptions of animals of the alpaca or llama type.

The Bone Objects

The example in Plate xiva has already been discussed in the previous Shillacoto report (Izumi, Cuculiza, and Kano 1972:69), but, as it is extremely significant

in tracing the relationship with the Chavín style, it will be examined once more.

The bone object in question was discovered in a tomb of the Kotosh phase; the lower portion was in a very bad state of preservation, having become powdery, and the original shape could not be ascertained. The pattern was defined by grooved incision, the inside of the incision being filled with black charcoal-like paint, and the design motif emphasized the fangs that are normally associated with an animal of the feline species. A very similar design is found in the stone carvings at Chavín de Huantar. In addition, it should be noted that the human face depicted on the bone object in Plate xiva is identical to the human-face representation on vessels of the Kotosh phase. Stylistic features of two different cultures, previously thought to be different in style and period, occur together in this bone object, indicating that the so-called "Chavín style" had already made an appearance during the Kotosh phase. The design represented here is in no way rudimentary, but had already reached quite a developed level, for although the design is described rather boldly and crudely, it possesses a sense of stability and balance.

The example in Plate xivd was in the surface collection, making it difficult to ascertain the correct phase, but, stylistically, it belongs to the Wairajirca phase.

The bone object measures approximately 5.5 centimeters by 3 centimeters, is about 3 millimeters thick, and is flat and spatula-shaped. The design of the jaguar-man is depicted by broad- and deep-line incision. This might have been an amulet symbolizing a priest. The special characteristics of the face bear a resemblance to the Chavín style. This object has extremely rare features in its design: both arms are raised and both legs are spread apart like those of a frog in a squatting position, corresponding to the so-called "heraldic woman" or "hocker style" of design. This type of design was widespread in Luristan, Etruria, the islands of the Pacific, and in various parts of the American continent (Fraser

1966: 36-81), though the periods vary greatly and are, as a rule, more recent than this.

Of the large numbers of this design discovered in Peru, in the vicinity of Huaraz in the Callejón de Huaylas, and around Aija in the upper Huarmey Valley on the Peruvian coast (Tello 1923, Bennett 1944, Schaadel 1948, Carrión Cachot 1959), examples showing the design in combination with feline figures were common; their period is estimated from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 500 (Fraser 1966: 73).

The Meaning and Character of the Pottery with Representations

The large number of potsherds bearing representations or designs of human beings, animals, etc., discovered at Shillacoto, were, in all probability, made especially for use in religious rites or funeral ceremonies.

In the course of the establishment and development of agricultural production activities, the demand for decorative pottery increases and the quality of the pottery itself improves. This phenomenon is common to all parts of the world. Such special pottery is generally made in large quantities for use as containers for offerings at ceremonies, and it is, therefore, easy to imagine that the designs or decorations on the pottery are closely related to the special agricultural rites or religious ceremonies held in the area. The meaning and character of the pottery with representations appearing in the pre-Chavín period in the Andean highlands must be interpreted in this manner. If, for example, the pottery with feline representations was especially made as offertory vessels for the feline cult, then the existence of this pottery indicates the deification and worship of the feline at that time and presupposes the performance of related agricultural festivals and ceremonies.

Pottery bearing representations resembling a human or monkey face were also produced in large numbers, and it is thought that they too were made

for special religious purposes. This type of representation appeared in pairs, each half of the pair attached to either end of a piece of pottery, and, although there was a variety of facial expressions, as a rule one was an ordinary, calm face while the other had a severe, stern expression. There is a marked contrast between the two. It is important to note that pottery of this type was buried as offerings in the stone tombs of the Wairajirca phase. It is concluded from the above evidence that such pottery was produced for a purpose different from that for which the feline pottery types were made.

First, we must note that this pottery was probably made in connection with the buried person, who, we may assume, was a man of the ruling class. Second, we must note a clear dualism in the representation of the two faces. We must consider whether the representations were intended to be of an anthropomorphic being or of a monkey. If this pottery was produced especially for use in a cult, it must be concluded that the cult was related to a monkey deity. However, there is no evidence that the monkey was deified and worshiped in the ancient agrarian society of the Andes region. One might be tempted to think that there existed in the pre-Chavín period the custom of worshiping the monkey as a local deity in the Huallaga River basin, this being chronologically and regionally a very limited phenomenon; but, again, there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis. It thus becomes apparent that this type of representation is not that of a monkey, but is the description of a human face. The presence of monkey-like features was the result of an intention to emphasize the character of special persons and thus distinguish them from ordinary people. Such pottery, with human representations, was always buried in the tombs of chiefs and their kinsmen, indicating that they were offerings on the occasion of a chief's burial ceremony.

If the above hypothesis proves to be adequate, the dualistic symbolization can be understood in its own right. The chief in the primitive farming village community of the pre-Chavín period probably

also served as the priest. Such a chief would possess both holy duties and secular authority, and it is precisely these two sides of a special individual that are shown in the functional duality of the two-faced pottery representations. Plate viib, c shows excellent examples of this. One is a normal face giving an impression of femininity; the other is a fierce face, with teeth bared like those of a jaguar. At the primitive religious stage, conjuring ceremonies are often performed and the priest possesses special shamanistic spiritual ability. It is often claimed that, during the performance of the religious ceremonies,

he is able to establish direct contact with the deity. In the feline cult of the Andes region in ancient times, it is imagined that when the jaguar deity became manifest in the person of the shamanistic priest, extraordinary phenomena occurred; the priest assumed a jaguar's posture and manner and imitated its voice. I believe that the pottery-makers of the pre-Chavín period were attempting to represent the functional duality of the chief by showing the two different types of representation on the single piece of pottery.

Geometric Patterns Derived from Feline Representations and Related Geometric Patterns

THE DESIGNS on pre-Chavín pottery consist mostly of combinations of geometric patterns such as circle, dot, triangle, semi-circle, square or rectangle, diamond, spiral, cross, and step. Some, however, are of a slightly different type, such as the U-shaped or T-shaped designs. Upon examination of these various types of designs, it becomes apparent that they share basic similarities with the facial expressions or facial features of the feline representations mentioned above. These special geometric patterns are not thought to have been the product of spontaneous invention, but rather to have been designed from a certain basic model. It is presumed that they were the results of attempts to produce abstract or stylized renderings of important key features of the realistically represented feline face.

It is evident that, among the ordinary geometric patterns, there are several that bear definite relation to elements of the feline face, for example, the spiral, circle-and-dot, semicircular, crescent, and triangular shapes. The composition of realistic representations of the feline face itself is quite stylized and comprises a variety of small geometric shapes. The eyes are sometimes shown as circle-and-dot or semicircular shapes, the eyebrows are crescent-

shaped, the nose rectangular or U-shaped, the mouth made of rectangles or small triangles, the wrinkles on the forehead of triangular shapes, etc. Analysis of the composition of such feline faces yields the most important features, which, combined in new arrangements, will lead to the general types of geometric pattern.

There is some doubt whether or not all the geometric patterns on pre-Chavín period pottery can be fitted into the structural analysis and the interpretations shown on Figures 6-10. Therefore, the relationship between the feline representation and a geometric pattern will be discussed only for those examples in which the connection can be concretely demonstrated.

The U-shaped Design Pattern, or So-called Modular Width (Pls. xv, xvi and Fig. 6)

Among the realistic representations of the feline face, there are many examples in which the eyebrows and nose are defined by one continuous, curved, U-shaped line. This is a special feature of the Zoned Hachure type of feline face. The U-shaped design appearing as a geometric pattern is

also generally described by Zoned Hachure technique, and the pottery is of the same stylistic type. This pattern is, therefore, probably derived from the feline face. Several variations exist in the actual design pattern.

(a) *The Simple U-shaped Design (Pl. xva, b, d and Fig. 6a, b)*

Disregarding the feline eye, mouth, and other features, this design is the result of the stylization of the central part of the face into a simple U-shape, the upper part being flared to retain the curved line element of the realistic feline face. This can be thought of as a middle stage between a pure geometric pattern and a realistic design. In Plate 11 and Figure 2e, the small mouth portion is described below the U-shaped part. The corn design on pots of the Kotosh phase belongs to this design pattern. The U-shape with the upper part open wide in a flared curved line design, is clearly discerned in Chavín-style pottery representations (Fig. 14r', s'). It is also often used to symbolize the jaguar in representations on Olmec stelae and altars.

The pattern in Plate xva and Figure 6a is carved in Black Polished Incised pottery of the Kotosh phase; here, the U-shaped design is described by Grooved Incision and is arranged inside several square-shaped partitions in a continuous-band pattern. This type of simple U-shaped design existed continuously from the Wairajirca phase into the Chavín phase, the large-size individual design gradually becoming more abstract and changing into a small-size continuous pattern or grouped design. The small-size U-shaped design is recognized as a typical design motif of Chavín and is described on the body of many pots and bowls.

The example in Plate xvib and Figure 6b is somewhat deformed, but it also belongs to the design category of this type.

(b) *The U-shaped Band Design (Pl. xvc, e-h, Fig. 6c-f, h)*

This is basically the U-shaped design extended continuously in the form of a band. There are several

variations. Figure 6d shows a band of large continuous U-shapes with individual U-shapes arranged within each partition. Each separate U-design can be thought of as an abstract rendition of the whole feline face. The shape is formed by straight perpendicular lines. The designs in Figure 6e, f, and h appear to be stylized feline faces, but, in this case, the eyes are emphasized. While it is difficult to arrive at the exact design, because of the fragmentary nature of the samples, it is assumed by extrapolation from the remaining pieces that the U-shapes are drawn symmetrically with a small-sized, rectangular eye shape described in each. This sort of feline face becomes one unit in the design, which may run in combinations both vertically and horizontally.

Figure 6c has lines of U-shaped band designs running parallel, one above the other. A simplified version of the design pattern mentioned above, this design is also related to the feline.

(c) *The U-shaped-eye Design (Pl. xvi and Fig. 6g)*

This design emphasizes the eccentric eye, which is characteristic of felines. In the case of realistic representations of the feline figure, the eyes are generally shown by circle-and-dot patterns, but, in this design, the eye part is very stylized and is described as a large, independent U-shaped pattern on the body of a pot (Fig. 6g). As only one fragmentary example of this type was found, the components of the entire design are uncertain; however, the eye design is placed inside a square partition with a circle-and-dot pattern arranged around the outside. The arrangement in this type of design is exactly the same as that of the feline figure in Zoned Hachure type pottery, and, once again, we can presume that the geometric pattern symbolizes the feline. Plate xvib shows an example of Deep Incised type pottery; although the design technique and the arrangement of the pattern differ, it still appears to be a variation of the U-shaped eye design. This more stylized pattern was found in large quantities. Generally, a narrow band design is drawn just below the rim and just above the base of

the pot. Other geometric patterns, such as excised step designs, triangles, etc., are combined with these around the body of the pot.

T-shaped Design Pattern (Pls. 1h, xvIIa-d and Figs. 1h, 7a-c)

The eyebrows and nose are shown connected at right angles, forming a large T-shape in the center of the feline face (Pl. 1h and Fig. 1h); they are depicted by vertical and horizontal outlines with short incised lines carved inside. The eyes are shown by a circle-and-dot pattern, and the nostrils by dots; the mouth is a rectangular outline with fang-like teeth described within. Moreover, two whiskers are depicted sloping upwards from either end of the mouth. In this type of representation, the rectangular T-shape occupying the center of the face clearly demonstrates the feline features. This T-shape was extracted from the realistic feline figure, and arranged either in a stepped design or singly within the partitions of a continuous U-shaped design to produce standard geometric patterns (Pl. xvIIa, b and Fig. 7a, b). Though few examples of this type of pattern were actually discovered, it is nonetheless regarded as an important design motif symbolizing the feline. There is also a double T-shaped pattern (Pl. xvIIc, d and Fig. 7c) that is formed by joining two T-shapes end to end at top and bottom. This design might have been reached by taking the T-shape of the nose and eyebrows and adding the mouth as a rectangular shape at the bottom. It is usually observed in combination with triangular shapes.

Band Design: Combination of Semicircles and Triangles (Pl. xvIIIa-d and Fig. 9j-m)

The eyes in a realistic feline face are sometimes indicated by semicircular shapes (Fig. 2a-c). There are three ways to render this type of eye: (1) the semicircular outline is described by a single-line incision, and the space within is filled by short fine

lines; (2) the eye shape is made by two parallel curved lines, and the space between filled by zoned hachure; (3) an extra crescent-shaped line representing the eyebrow is placed above the semicircular eye.

The geometric pattern that uses the semicircle as its motif is extremely common and is especially numerous in the Zoned Hachure type. This design pattern can also be divided into three types (Fig. 9j, l, m). It is generally found in combination with triangles in the form of a continuous band design on the waist of the pottery. I believe that the triangle is a stylistic representation of furrows on the feline's forehead, and that this type of geometric pattern is, therefore, a design motif derived from stylized representations of the feline face.

The unique type in Plate xvIII, g and Figure 9n, o has a fang-like pattern or star-shaped design around the double semi-circle or double-circle shape. It may symbolize the sun or the feline in some aspect of a sun god.

Semicircular Band Design (Pl. xIXa-j and Fig. 9a-i, k)

This type is made by arranging semicircular designs in a continuous connected band design around the rim or waist of the pottery. There are various different designs: for example, semicircles placed at fixed intervals at top and bottom of the band (Fig. 9g-i), or the semicircular pattern described by two large, continuous, parallel curved bands (Fig. 9k). These patterns are undoubtedly geometric designs based on the feline eye mentioned above.

This type of geometric pattern is often observed on Zoned Hachure type pottery of the Wairajirca phase and, with only slight alterations, existed continuously through to the Kotosh phase. Typical of this pattern is the design known as "scale motif" found on Grooved Incised pottery, which consists of semicircles placed alternately one above the other, and was probably a new design idea invented during the Kotosh phase (Fig. 9a-d).

Panel Design Band Composed of Concentric Circles, Short Parallel Lines, and Triangles (Pl. xxa–j and Fig. 10i–m)

In a previous chapter, a feline representation of the Fine-Line Incised type was introduced. The nose is shown as a wide U-shape and the eyes as large concentric circles (Fig. 1a–f). This feline figure appears in combination with panels of geometric patterns and forms a narrow design band around the shoulder of the pot. The pattern within the panels is composed of circle-and-dot, triangles, short parallel lines, etc.

There is a series of designs belonging to the same category; the feline face is more abstract and there are variations among the elements and composition of the geometric patterns within the panels. Figure 10l is a geometric pattern produced by taking the feline eyes and nose as the abstract shapes, that is, concentric circles and short, parallel lines, and then combining them. The design in Figure 10i is described by big concentric circles, which are simplified features of the feline in conjunction with a panel-type design enclosing a small, continuous triangular pattern. Apart from these, there are various other combinations such as concentric-circle-and-cross, circle-and-three-dots, and concentric-circle-and-diamond, all of which belong to the same category. This type of pattern is only found on globular bottles with short necks, and the pottery all belongs to the same type.

Spiral Design Motif (Pl. xxia–f and Fig. 10b–h)

The spiral design probably developed out of the concentric circle design of the above section. It consists basically of two circles joined together by a curved line to form a long, S-shaped spiral. There are three stylistic variations in this design: (1) the spiral has one starting point and turns in one direction only (Fig. 10h); (2) the spiral has two starting points, with the spiral turning the same way in each

half (Fig. 10e–g); (3) the spiral has two starting points, with the spirals turning in the same direction but the tails flowing in opposite directions (Fig. 10d). In the first two cases, the spiral design forms one independent S-shape, but in the third variation, the spiral design forms a continuous pattern (Fig. 10b, d).

On the other hand, the concentric circle with panel design is divided into two halves, top and bottom, by the curved line that connects the two spirals and evolves from the rectangular into the triangular panel design. The unification of the spiral design with the triangular design produces a long narrow continuous band design around the shoulder or waist of the pot (Fig. 10d–h).

There is also an irregular spiral design (Pl. xxii–k and Fig. 8c, d), which consists of two triangular spiral shapes arranged obliquely and is described by one continuous line incision, forming a single independent design unit. This design may have originated from the paired triangular panel design mentioned above, or from the interlocking triangular design (Pl. xxii), and a subsequent simplification. It often appears in combination with the circle-and-dot or arranged within the U-shaped design, so it is probably related to the feline.

Cloud-shaped Design

The spiral design, when stylized even further, becomes the “cloud-shaped design.” Pottery in the Wairajirca phase is embellished by Zoned Hachure technique with what looks like a long, narrow, S-shaped design. This design appears mostly as similar patterns around the waists of pots (Pl. xxif and Fig. 10b), but there is an example in which it is used dynamically as a large, independent design of the Zoned Polished style (Pl. xxig and Fig. 10c). Entering the Kotosh phase, the design is described by grooved incision and becomes wider and shorter and, overall, a smaller-sized design. It bears a striking resemblance to the Chavín style (Fig. 15h'–l').

Other Geometric Patterns Related to the Feline

In this category of design, the exact parts of the feline providing the models for the designs cannot be determined with accuracy, but it can be assumed on visual evidence that a close relationship between design and feline model does exist.

(a) *Double Triangular-Shaped Design (Pl. xxiiia-f, Fig. 8a, b, e-h)*

As mentioned previously, the triangle is combined with other geometric shapes and is an important element in the composition of feline-related designs. The design cited here consists of two opposing triangles, joined at the points, which form a single independent design, each of which is placed inside a U-shaped band design. The special care taken over the arrangement of this design is noteworthy (Fig. 8b, e, g, h). This design is found in combination with the concentric circle symbolizing the feline eye and placed inside long, narrow panel-type partitions. A large number of circle-and-dot designs arranged around the panels appears on the same type of high-quality pottery used in the cult and

bears realistic representations of the feline face. The shallow bowl-shaped pottery in Plate xxiiif and Figure 8f uses this pattern repeated horizontally to make a band design. There is also a design, probably describing the feline face, that comprises a rectangular partition divided into four parts by two diagonal lines; the opposing triangular parts contain either incised lines or the circle-and-dot design (Pl. xxiiia and Fig. 8a). The triangular pattern mentioned above may have originated from this design.

(b) *Diamond-Shaped Design (Pl. xviiie-g and Fig. 7d-h)*

A pair of diamond shapes is thought to represent symbolically either the eyes or the entire face of the feline. The outline of the diamond shape is described by double or triple lines of fine or deep incision. The center of the diamond is highlighted variously by polishing (Fig. 7d), short-line incision (Fig. 7e), or by placement inside a cross shape (Fig. 7g, h). The cross is one of the feline symbols, as will be mentioned later, indicating that a relationship exists between this design and the feline.

The Relation between Chavín and Pre-Chavín Cultures

Art Design

JOHN H. ROWE (1967: 77) pointed out that the most important conventions in Chavín art are “symmetry, repetition, modular width, and the reduction of figures to combinations of straight lines, simple curves, and scrolls.” In addition to this, François Hébert-Stevens (1972: 127) stated that the “opérations graphiques” of Chavín formed “une structure organique segmentée dans ses éléments, un répertoire analogique et un système de référence abstrait.”

Basically similar conventions or graphic operations of Chavín art can be observed in pre-Chavín artistic trends, although they had not yet reached a level of sophistication equal to that of Chavín.

There were actually several local variations within the so-called “Chavín style,” the Chavín culture itself having had a long historical tradition with a wide spatial distribution. The purpose of this paper is not to compare the wide variations in the Chavín style but to examine the origins of the Chavín culture. To do this, it is necessary to determine which are the earliest styles or types in Chavín art.

Rowe's superior investigation into the chronology of the Chavín art style, based on the stone sculptures at Chavín de Huantar, is a useful source of reference.

According to Rowe (1967: 76) the oldest of the Chavín stone carvings, which he designated as belonging to the AB phase, were the Lanzón and the cornice blocks of the new temple decorated with representations of eagles or hawks. It is interesting to note that feline representation is not so common in Chavín art and that it is restricted to the AB-C phase (Rowe 1967: 83). Michael Kan was struck by this fact, and, in his discussion of the feline motif, he distinguished the "feline *per se*" from the other representations (Kan 1972: 70). Moreover, among the various feline motifs, the method of describing the eyes and mouth is the commonest figurative device that reflects stylistic changes and is useful in determining chronology (Rowe 1967: 76; Kan 1972: 70).

The reason for the scarcity of naturalistic feline representations and their restriction to an early phase will be examined later; at this point, we will make a comparative examination of the relationship between pre-Chavín artistic styles and the feline motif in the earlier phase of Chavín, with emphasis on the representations of the feline mouth and eyes.

(a) The Feline Mouth

Two different modes of representation of the feline mouth—frontal view and profile view—are found in both Chavín and pre-Chavín art (Fig. 13).

Typical frontal feline masks belonging to the Chavín AB phase are the principal figure of the Lanzón (Fig. 11a) and the tenoned heads that belong to the earlier style (Fig. 11e–g and Fig. 12c–e). This style features a large mouth with corners turned up and upper canines only. The incised feline mouth described on the bone objects of the Shillacoto-Kotosh phase corresponds remarkably with this type of feline mouth. Here, the feline mouth is depicted as different types of profile mouths on either side of thin, flat, bone objects, and, while the corners of the mouth do not turn up as much as

they do on the Lanzón, the overall shape follows the same trend; both examples show distinct similarities in the basic method of description. In addition, the crossed incision used to describe the fangs at the corner of the mouth, a characteristic form of decoration, is also a feature in the jaguar mouth on sculpture of the Chavín AB phase (Fig. 11b–d). Normally, the teeth are shown by horizontal and vertical straight lines, and the corners are distinguished by a cross mark. The same feature appears in the profile mouth. This special descriptive method was not found in the Wairajirca phase and made its first appearance in the Kotosh phase of the pre-Chavín. Certainly, the outline or the decorative point of the corner of the feline mouth is important in understanding the process of change in the Chavín style. Rowe also attached much importance to this point and mentioned it as a useful index in establishing the chronology of Chavín art (Rowe 1967: 4).

Although differing in terms of the character and category of the design, I must refer to a small frontal feline mask depicted on the ridge of an AB-phase jaguar cornice. The special features of this feline mouth are the upper lip, which extends upwards on both sides at right angles to the line of the mouth, and the ends, which are rounded or of spiral shape. The whole makes a U-shape. One opinion holds that this unique mouth shape is a more emphasized version of the Lanzón mouth, but I think that it is based on the U-shaped design and is thus related to the Wairajirca-style feline motif of the pre-Chavín.

The U-shaped mouth of this particular type at Chavín has curved fangs on either side and a short pointed tooth or triangle-shaped tongue described in the center. The central design should be regarded as a form of mouth appendix. Symmetric spirals, small snake heads, entwined snakes, and other designs also appear in the same part of the face.

The feline mask with U-shaped mouth becomes larger during later periods to become the principal motif in the stelae. For example, the U-shaped mouth appears in the vertical sequences or super-

position of feline masks on the Raimondi Stela (Fig. 12i-m), and a frontal mask is combined with a narrow profile mouth in the Yauya Stela to produce a mysterious design. Here, the profile mouth alone can be termed a long, narrow, U-shaped design (Fig. 12p). This type of feline mask also figures prominently in Chavinoid-Paracas weaving (Sawyer 1972: Fig. 1).

The U-shaped mouth appears on various stone carvings at Chavín, and, although undergoing stylistic changes, it existed continuously over a long period. As a general rule, the descriptive mode of the earlier period is simple and unsophisticated, but, in later periods, the number of mouth appendices becomes larger and the trend is toward a more decorative and complicated style. A more detailed observation and accurate typology of the stylistic changes in the U-shaped mouth would probably be useful in determining the chronology of the Chavín stone carvings.

Other examples of the frontal mouth—the human mouth in the tenon heads at Chavín, for example—bear a striking resemblance to the mouth of the jaguar man of the Wairajirca phase (Fig. 13m, n, y'-a'). There are also pre-Chavín feline mouths with square corners and triangular fangs as well as the type with whiskers; these strongly resemble the Paracas-Chavín type (Fig. 13m'-r'; Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964: Figs. 2-4).

Typical of the feline mouth in profile at Chavín are those on the long, narrow upper part—the 'mango'—and the waist or girdle part of the Lanzón, as well as those on the jaguar or bird heads described on the cornice blocks, which correspond to the "feline mouth with rounded corners and crossed fangs" mentioned by Kan. The type of pre-Chavín feline mouth found on the bone objects of the Kotosh phase (Fig. 13g'-i') fits this category exactly. The fangs are placed within the outline of the lower and upper lips. The rounded corners and the cross incision representing ordinary teeth in the corner are important common stylistic features. In addition, there is a similarity in the representation of the eyebrow, as is seen below.

(b) *The Feline Eye*

There are two types of representations of the feline eye in Chavín art, just as there are in pre-Chavín art: circular and rectangular (Fig. 14).

The circular eye is often seen in realistic feline figures of the Wairajirca phase of pre-Chavín and is mostly described by a circle-and-dot pattern or by concentric circles. There are large numbers of the circular type in the earlier stone carvings at Chavín. Kan mentioned (1972: 70), as special features, "the round eccentric eye with a brow kenned as a snake," the pupil inclined toward the upper part of the eye, and the S-shaped or spiral figure eyebrow. However, there are some variations in the shape of the brow. For example, the ends may be snake heads (Lanzón) or a spiral projection (Fig. 11c), and the nostrils and eyebrows may be described by a pair of spirals (Fig. 11b).

Although there are no examples of this type of Chavín-style feline eye in the Wairajirca phase, it corresponds exactly to the feline eye with snake-like brow of the Kotosh phase bone objects mentioned previously. The only significant difference to be found is the unique circle-and-dot-with-bar form of eye in the latter. This unique descriptive mode is peculiar to the Kotosh phase and appears in neither Wairajirca nor Chavín.

Snake-like eyebrows with clearly described kennings made their advent in the Chavín phase, those of pre-Chavín being only of the spiral-design type. The spiral is primarily a geometric design which originated in and developed from the concentric feline eye of Wairajirca and is inseparably connected with the description of the eye. It is presumed, therefore, that this stylistic tradition continued into the Kotosh phase. The few snake figures in pre-Chavín are very realistically depicted, such as "snake attacking a frog," and have no allegorical meanings as "kennings" or "isomorphies" (Hébert-Stevens 1972: 128).

The rectangular eye, in contrast to the circular eye, appears very rarely in realistic feline masks in pre-Chavín, but is more common as an extremely

stylized, independent geometric design, one of the U-shaped designs, or as the basis for a horizontal sequence band which is repeated several times over.

The rectangular eye is also rare in the earlier period stone carvings at Chavín but becomes more common in the later period. Upon close examination, two types of rectangular eyes are observed; in one, the eye alone is described (Fig. 14r-w), and, in the other, the brow is included as well (Fig. 14m-q). The first type is related to the pre-Chavín U-shaped element and is observed in many forms on classic Chavín-style pottery. The design developed and changed from Wairajirca through Kotosh and into Chavín; this is an important design motif connecting pre-Chavín and Chavín. It is comparatively rare in earlier Chavín stone carvings, with the exception of the jaguar cornices.

The second type of eye in which the brow is included is thought to be a variation based on the earlier circular type; the spiral or snake-like brow of the earlier period was later simplified by omitting the snake heads while the whole outline gradually changed from circular to rectangular. However, a more thorough investigation is necessary to determine the design changes on pottery, weaving, and other artifacts. Figure 14a-x shows the sequence of stylistic changes in the feline eye. Here we should note not only the change in the feline mouth from rounded to pointed corner, but also the changes in the descriptive method of the teeth and fangs.

(c) The Feline Pelage Markings (Fig. 11b-d)

Various pelage markings, such as circle-and-dot, cross, L-shape, figure-8, S-shape, spiral, cloud-shape, are observed on the body of the feline in both the relief and round stone carvings of early Chavín. The exact significance of the cross and L-shaped elements among these is not known, but the jaguar of mythology was not without some relation to the stars, being himself a creature of celestial character, and these designs may serve to symbolize this aspect (Carrión Cachot 1948: 43-5).

These types of feline symbols are typical designs on pre-Chavín pottery. The excised cross mark is

specially abundant on the pottery that has realistic feline masks, combined with the circle-and-dot design clearly symbolic of the feline. The L-shaped design, also described by excision or zoned hachure, is thought to be a form of step design. It appears as a large independent design on the waist of pottery or often as a design placed diagonally within a square-shaped partition.

The spiral, S-shape, and figure-8 all belong to the same group of design motifs that have their original model in the feline eye of the Wairajirca phase. The cloud shape is a variation of the spiral, which had already appeared in the Kotosh phase. The feline symbols in the early Chavín stone carvings derive directly from pre-Chavín design motifs.

All the correspondences noted above have to do with the feline figure; in addition to these, there are other ordinary pottery designs and decorations displaying similarities between the Chavín and pre-Chavín (cf. Fig. 15).

Among the corresponding designs, the diamond with dots, the row of triangles or semicircles, stepped design, gadrooning, etc., are often observed on the pottery at Chavín de Huantar (Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 6.6-10, Lám. XII.5-8; Tello 1960: Figs. 154c, 156, 160; Láms. I, LI) and Chicama (Carrión Cachot 1948: Láms. XIII.5, 8; XIV.6, XV.1-11), but, for some reason, these designs are rare in the Chavín phase in the Huanuco basin, at least in the Chavín-style pottery at the Kotosh site.

The above examination clearly demonstrates the close artistic relationship between the Chavín and pre-Chavín cultures. A major problem arises due to the overall paucity, which we mentioned earlier in this chapter, of the naturalistic forms of feline representation at Chavín. The Lanzón, which belongs to the AB phase, is itself an anthropomorphized feline, and there are also many condor-jaguars and serpent-jaguars in the early period cornice designs. On the other hand, most of the pre-Chavín feline masks are realistic, and only one example, a bone object, exists in which the feline is described mixed with other animals such as the condor or serpent. Such disparities between pre-

Chavín and Chavín cannot be understood merely by studying the artistic and stylistic changes or differences. I believe that it is necessary to consider the change process in fields other than artistic style and to investigate the background that produced the art, and the changes in the feline cult itself, and in other aspects of religion, society, and politics.

The Developmental Process of the Feline Cult

As is evident from the material presented here, the feline was an object of worship in the pre-Chavín period, and this worship was initiated in conjunction with agricultural rites.

The feline cult occurs widely in various areas of Central and South America, probably because of the natural environment and the fauna relationships, and it developed together with maize agriculture. The character of the feline god is, according to the standard opinions up to this time, associated with the sun, fire, rain, water, fertility, earth, and celestial deities, and possesses various other attributes. Although the form and content of the cult change through the ages, it developed from very ancient times and its tradition was maintained over a long period. The feline as an object of veneration will be dealt with in more detail, paying special attention to the basic religious concepts.

There are a large number of mythological legends in the New World concerning the were-jaguar concept or jaguar-shaman transformation. These are related directly to animal-ancestor mythology. It is significant that similar mythological concepts existed in the primitive tribes of Siberia and northeast Asia. This similarity is especially evident in the religious basis and developmental process of animal-ancestor mythology. The convention of worshiping an animal deity in various areas, from China and southeast Asia to Siberia and northeast Asia, has been commented on by Western scholars (Czaplicka 1914, Holmberg, 1927, Shirokogoroff 1935). In Japan, Akihide Mishina (1971) has studied the animal-ancestor mythology of Siberia, Manchuria, and

Mongolia, while referring to documentary literature of the dynastic period of ancient China, and has included some very important reports indicating numerous similarities with the mythology of the New World. I would like to introduce those points that pertain to animal-ancestor mythology, in the hope that they may clarify the process that occurred in South and Central America, for example, among the Olmec.

According to Mishina, animal-ancestor mythology is related to the mode of life in the tribes that maintain it and must be interpreted in light of the religious concepts and customs of the tribe. The important points may be summarized as follows.

(a) Most of the animal-ancestor gods are handed down in legend. A sacred place is maintained, connected with worship of the ancestral animal, which becomes the place for sacred tribal ceremonies, and a representation of the ancestral animal is enshrined there as the object of the cult. Tombs of famous chiefs and heroes are also revered as holy places.

(b) It was thought that part of the body of the ancestral animal survived as a tribal feature, either in the body or on the clothes, so the appearance and the voice of the ancestral animal was imitated during the performance of the tribal cult.

(c) Overwhelming control over the religious life of the Manchurian-Mongolian tribes was exercised by the shaman. Referring to Siberian tribal shamans, Mishina mentions that, at the early stage, the basic organization is that of either family shaman or clan shaman, and it is impossible to separate the shamanistic ancestral animal and the tribal ancestral being. He cites the two Buryat words "Kubilgan" and "Utkha." "Khobilgan," the name of the holy blue-grey bull, derives from "Khobilku"—to change oneself, to take on another form. In other words, it is named for the transforming ability of the spiritual being, the holy animal that incorporates the spirit of the shaman clan. "Utkha" is translated as "descent," "genealogy," "a term connoting shamanistic power."

The shamanistic "Khobilgan" and tribal ancestral "Utkha" concepts are basic to the social structure

of the Siberian tribes and are widespread in animal-ancestor mythology.

(d) There are a large number of myths and legends regarding matings between humans and animals. Mishina divides the abundant materials regarding human-animal marriages into two types, A and B: (A) those in which the female is human and the animal male; (B) those in which the male is human and the animal female.

Regarding the Type A animal-ancestor mythological concept, Mishina referred to Buryat shamanistic ancestral mythology for other reference material and found that there are two types of legend that follow the same pattern as in animal-ancestor mythology. However, in the case of shamanistic ancestral mythology, the animal having relations with a human being is a bird, such as the condor or the eagle, and the human being is always the female. The contents of this mythology fall again into two types: (1) the holy bird is sent from heaven to grant conjuring power to the female, who can then contact the spirits; (2) the bird makes the female pregnant. In the former, only those who have had shamanistic abilities bestowed on them by the god can distinguish between the spiritual animal and ordinary animals in order to establish contact. This is the spiritual conception story. The latter is the mating story, in which the bird actually copulates with a human female. Mishina points out that the spiritual conception story is the earlier form of the basic mating type concept. In other words, the mating form is a special development of the spiritual conception form. Also, in shamanistic ancestral mythology, the ecstasy experienced in becoming a shaman and the stages of pregnancy correspond to each other. This conforms to the general idea regarding spirits. If we suppose that the basic pattern is one in which a woman becomes possessed by spirits, then it will be appreciated that the Type A animal mating mythology, in which the human is female, is the normal form.

If there are sufficient reasons for Type A to be a normal form, then there should be equally valid reasons to account for Type B. Mishina divides

Type B into two subtypes: Type B-1, where the male is human and the female animal; Type B-2, where the female animal is the mother who takes care of the human child. Type B-2 is more common than Type B-1. In myths about the birth of a god-child, human marriage is generally not mentioned; myths about mother and child only are numerous, the existence of the mother being more basic than that of the father. Therefore, Type B-2, in which the mother is animal and the existence of a husband or father is not reported, becomes the basic form. Type B-1 is regarded as a special phase or a developmental phase of the basic type.

The above is a summary of the main points of Mishina's thesis on the ancestral-animal mythology handed down from ancient times in Siberia, Manchuria, and Mongolia, with emphasis on those points that are relevant to primitive religion in the New World.

The existence of a large number of similar mythological legends in the New World is already known. Myths and legends of the Andean region were recorded in the old *chronista* reports, and in Tello (1923) and Carrión Cachot (1948); others were recently collected and studied by Reichel-Dolmatoff (1949-50, 1968), Furst (1968), and many other scholars.

In many social and cultural aspects, there are resemblances between Asia and the New World. Also, a basic correspondence in the religious aspect can be observed between the two. I chose to introduce the mythology of the ancient tribes of Siberia and northeast Asia, especially Mongolia and Manchuria, because, with the exception of a few specialists, study of the specific similarities in the animal ancestor mythology of both Asia and the New World has been neglected. I would like to stress the combination of shamanism and animal ancestor mythology, and closely related "man-animal transformation" ideas, which are basic to the religious concepts in both regions. Through comparative studies of the mythologies of each region, we can understand better the developmental process of the cults of ancient America.

In Asia, the appearance of animal-ancestor mythology was, for the most part, related to the establishment of the tribal state or nation, although the original concept may have started in earlier times. Material evidence of such a mythology has also been observed in the stone monuments and cave paintings at Olmec sites in Mesoamerica (Stirling 1955, Grove 1970). In Coe's opinion (1972: 10–11), this mythological theme was related to the emergence of the Olmec dynasty. Similar evidence is found in the stone sculptures of San Agustín in Colombia (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1927a). The cultural origin of the stone sculptures at San Agustín is obscure; the earliest dating is estimated at *ca.* 600 B.C. (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972b: 127).

The most important question is when such a mythology was formed in South America. It did not emerge suddenly and must have been preceded by a long developmental process. Therefore, the earlier cultural phases and the accompanying changes in the religious system must be investigated.

It is also necessary to examine the problem of whether this type of mythology had its origin in the Central Andes or was influenced by Mesoamerica. Whatever its origin, mythology, especially ancestral mythology, is always connected with conditions of tribal life and has a close relationship with tribal worship and the cult. The meaning and content of the mythology constantly undergo change, growth, and decay according to the social system or period in which they are handed down. Ancestral mythology offers a suitable avenue for the investigation of past conditions of a people's life because, characteristically, the basic elements of the folk mythology and the inherited peculiarities of the people are maintained over a long period of time. In other words, even if the mythology collected is of a later period, it can, through a consideration of its basic content, be of material help in our investigation of an earlier period. Needless to say, care must always be taken to avoid confusion between the basic elements and incidental features.

The ancestral-animal mythology of South Amer-

ica is, for the most part, obtained from the *chronista* records and legends of present-day primitive tribes. The actual period of origin is completely unknown. The only clue regarding this period is to be found in the stone carvings in the archaeological materials at San Agustín, though, as mentioned before, the exact period of production of this style is still unknown. The ancestral mythology of the Olmec in Mesoamerica provides an alternative basis for determining the period of origin. However, in making a comparative study of any similarities between the mythologies of the two regions, it is necessary to consider the question of regional expansion of the mythological elements and to compare and to analyze the joint relationship between the historical and cultural characteristics in the dissemination of the basic elements of the mythologies. In view of the state of knowledge of mythology in Latin America, a study based on such widely diverse sources is too much to ask for. We can assume for the present only that the ancestral mythology of South America had its origins in the Andes, and, by starting with an investigation of its form, its basic elements can be extracted.

Basic to the ancestral mythology of South America is the idea of a were-jaguar, of jaguar-man transformation, or of human beings as descendants of the jaguar. There exists, therefore, the strong possibility that these concepts were connected with actual tribal religious cults, in other words, the cult of the feline. To seek the form of the ancestral mythology of South America is the same as seeking the basic form of the feline cult. A study of the origin and developmental phases of the feline cult simultaneously clarifies the formative phases of the ancestral-animal mythology.

I believe that the feline cult represents one of the peaks of the Chavín culture, when the ceremonial center of Chavín reached a complete and highly developed style. Not only were advances made in technical development and in an artistic sense, as is evidenced by the constructions and artistic handicrafts, but also remarkable progress was shown in religious concepts, politics, and social organization.

The appearance of the custom of enshrining an effigy of the deity inside a giant temple demonstrates a change in the style of the cult and the concept of the god. It is difficult to explain the large-scale expansion of temple constructions, the enshrinement of the supreme god at important locations, the propagation of a common cult over a wide area, and the surprisingly unified artistic style (with, of course, some regional differences according to the stage of development) in terms of a simple and unsophisticated form of religious worship. The feline cult was in all probability organized and systematized on a political and social scale. In order to interpret the phenomenon of cultural change, it is necessary to consider the origins of stylistic changes, in other words, changes in the god concept, qualitative changes in the religious cult, the development of political and social organizations, and also relationships between these and religion.

I would like to consider these points with respect to the development of the feline cult from the pre-Chavín into the Chavín period.

(a) Changes in the God Concept

The most noticeable changes that occurred between pre-Chavín and Chavín are changes in the descriptive styles seen in representations or icons of the deity. Representations of the feline in the Wairajirca phase are almost all naturalistic or zoomorphic. In the Kotosh phase, all types of representations are in the process of anthropomorphization, and, finally, by the Chavín period, they have become anthropomorphic. Naturally, such changes in the description of the deity reflect changes in the god concept. Zoomorphic images of the god indicate religious concepts still in the animistic stage. The form of a feline god represented not simply the "feline" of the natural world but an animistic being possessing supernatural conjuring powers and exercising control over the animistic religious concepts. On the other hand, the description of the god in the Chavín period, as represented by the "Lanzón," is clearly anthropomorphic. Many examples of such change

in worship and religious concepts of primitive peoples from animism into anthropomorphism are observable in ancient tribes all over the world. However, the Andes differ from other regions in certain respects, and it is necessary to clarify these points. We will start by examining the Lanzón monolith.

The Lanzón belongs to the oldest stylistic type, corresponding to the AB phase in Rowe's designation, and provides us with an extremely important criterion for our investigations of the origin of the religious concepts of Chavín. As pointed out previously, there exist remarkable similarities between the Lanzón and the bone objects discovered in tombs of the Kotosh phase. The shape in both cases is in the form of a knife or spear. If we assume that the bone objects of the Kotosh phase bear representations of the deity, they can be regarded as prototypes of the Lanzón. In addition, the bone objects were placed as burial offerings in the chief's tomb, which demonstrates the existence of the feline cult and shows that the chief, as the performer of the cult rites, had an especially close relation with the feline deity. Moreover, the custom of burying an image of the god inside a human grave probably shows that the god and chief were gradually becoming identified with each other. In other words, the concept of an anthropomorphic deity was emerging. Thus, the actual examples found in tombs of the Kotosh phase provide important indicators to the circumstances surrounding the origin of the anthropomorphic deity of the Chavín period. At the same time, the identification of the god with the human chief is related to shamanism. Although the anthropomorphic-deity concept had not come into being during the Wairajirca phase, we can infer the existence of the chief-shaman-priest concept. At this stage the shaman-priest would perform the cult rites in place of the god. He would be a special person, the medium whereby the god communicated his wishes, and would be able to control various natural phenomena by virtue of the spirit of the deity residing in his body; he would be able to influence the success or failure of the crops and even exercise control over life and death. It is easy to see

that, among simple people, a man who can bring thunder, for example, will be looked upon as a magician (shaman) or a rainmaker, who is, of course, one type of divine person. When the shaman enters a state of ecstasy during the performance of the cult rites, he is fully identified with the deity; the words that spill unconsciously from his lips and the actions he makes are taken as the words and actions of the god himself. In other words, there exists the belief that the god appears as actual flesh and blood in the borrowed form of the shaman's body and voices his intentions through the shaman's mouth. Therefore, it can be said that the shaman had an intimate relationship with the deity. In such a situation, the shaman and the people are working in concert with the unconscious desire to elevate him to the level of a god. Given this mental attitude in primitive tribal society, in which the shaman-priest often acts as the representative of a certain type of spiritual being and becomes identified with the spiritual being, it is not surprising that he is believed to be the deity in person. In other words, there is ample justification for saying that the origin of the anthropomorphic deity was through the sublimation of the shaman-priest. The shaman is the prototype from which the anthropomorphic deity was created.

It seems evident that the changes in the god concept mentioned above and ancient shamanism both play important roles in the development from the animism of the Wairajirca phase into the anthropomorphism of the Chavín.

If the newly created anthropomorphic god is the sublimation or the deification of the shaman, then the sublimated shaman-type god must be a specific deity. Bearing this in mind, let us proceed in our investigation of the Lanzón.

The head of the Lanzón is that of a feline monster, but the body (torso) is human in form and is adorned with ear pendants, a necklace, tunic, and girdle. Snakes are shown at the ends of the hair and eyebrows; these probably represent lesser gods, attendants of the Jaguar God. It is normal for an enshrined effigy of an anthropomorphic god to have special

individual features. In this case, the image of the deity is based on an already-established, animistic spiritual being—a feline animal in the Andes—and on the human form in which it is worshiped, there being many instances where the form, dress, and accoutrements of the shaman-priest of the cult are incorporated into the description. The examples of Xipe Totec of Mexico, the mythological gods of Greece and northern Europe, and the porcine god Moccus (Carpenter 1920: 92) follow this pattern, and it is observed most clearly in the relations between animal gods and totemic gods and the shaman-priest. There is clear evidence that the priests who worshiped the god Moccus wore a special boar costume. It seems evident that such ceremonial costume of the worshipers is derived from the form of the deity before it came to be worshiped as an anthropomorphic deity. From the actual examples above, we can assume that the monstrous appearance of the anthropomorphic deity of the Lanzón idol had its origin in the ceremonial costume worn by the shaman-priest in the feline cult.

We can say, therefore, that the prototype for the anthropomorphic god concept of the Chavín period, as depicted in the Lanzón idol, can be found in the earlier animistic beings of the pre-Chavín period. The identification of the supernatural ability of the shaman with the sacredness of the god gave rise to the anthropomorphic-god concept, and thus the anthropomorphic deity appeared with a definite image. We can deduce that the Lanzón image at Chavín de Huantar had its origin in the fusion of the feline deity and the shaman in the pre-Chavín period.

(b) Construction of the Temples

The establishment of the anthropomorphic-god concept is closely related to the construction of the temple in which the deity is actually enshrined. At Chavín, the construction of the Castillo is of the same time period as the manufacture and installation of the Lanzón. The temple was constructed with the specific purpose of enshrining the Lanzón idol. Thus, the time in which the anthropomorphic-god

concept originated corresponds to the period in which the temple was constructed, and, in the Andes, the earliest period is that of Chavín. It is thought that neither the temples of the Kotosh-Mito phase nor the pre-ceramic constructions of the coastal region were temples for worship of an anthropomorphic deity. The character of these temples should be called "autogenetic"; it is associated with a god concept of the old manaistic type.

Evidence as to an anthropomorphic deity is ill-defined, but the enshrinement of the god in a temple built as a permanent construction signifies that the god conceived as having human existence to some degree, and from this there emerges the strong likelihood that the anthropomorphic deity of the Lanzón probably represents an ancestor deity. Moreover, we can speculate further that ancestor worship started in the Chavín period. Previously, we examined the origin of the anthropomorphic deity through the relationship between the shaman-priest and the god; now, if we transfer our attention to the relationship between the chief and the god, the character of the anthropomorphic deity becomes clearer. The origin of the anthropomorphic deity occurred partly through the identification of a human, that is, the chief, with the god, and is thus described with the characteristics of an ancestral deity.

If ancestor worship started in the Chavín period, we can explain the process that gave birth to the ancestral deity as follows. There is evidence that funeral ceremonies for the chief were already conducted in the pre-Chavín period. Most probably they were first performed separately from the agricultural ceremonies of the feline cult. Then, with the improvement of the chief's position, the increase of his power, and the fixing of social-class differences, the chief's funeral ceremonies were conducted on a larger scale, gradually becoming absorbed into the agricultural ceremonies. Bone objects thought to bear representations of a deity and placed as funerary offerings in the tomb of a chief of the Shillacoto-Kotosh phase reflect that trend. The burial ceremony for the dead man (the

chief) was probably conducted by the successor to the chief's position, and, naturally, it incorporated characteristics of the new chief's, or his family's, ancestral cult. In this way, the animistic belief in natural spirits changed into worship of an ancestral spirit, which, when assimilated into the agricultural ceremonies, gave rise to the feline cult peculiar to the Chavín period. I have assumed above that the anthropomorphic deity was the deified shaman-priest, which is identical to the deification of the chief's ancestral spirits. We can conclude that the anthropomorphic deity may be interpreted as representing an ancestral deity.

It is assumed that the Chavín feline cult developed hand in hand with ancestor worship and that it had a deep connection with the social system of that time, the systematization of the ancestral god cult being useful in establishing a stable political order. In other words, the systematization and allotment of duties in the special cult entailed the political utilization of the deity.

The Castillo at Chavín in which the Lanzón was installed is an extremely eccentric structure consisting of many galleries, with a lack of openings to admit light and few entrances. William Sanders pointed out that while no evidence has been reported of the use of the Castillo as a burial place, there is a possibility that this construction possessed burial functions (Sanders and Marino 1970: 70). If it can be proved that the Castillo structure was a tomb or some type of burial facility, then the prototype of this giant structure can surely be found in the stone tombs of the Wairajirca phase. It will be necessary to investigate the structure and function of the Castillo more thoroughly.

(c) The Relation between Political Organization and Religion

The uniform nature of the artistic style of the Chavín culture and the success and promotion of cultural unity over a wide area were probably the results of religious influence rather than military conquest, but it is difficult to interpret this simply in terms of people's unsophisticated religious beliefs. Sanders

pointed out that the social structure was closer to an ancient state than to a chiefdom, judging by the size and structure of the temple remains and the living style at Sechín Alto in Casma or at Moxeque (Sanders and Marino 1970: 72). In fact, giant temples, in which the feline god was enshrined, were constructed in each area during the Chavín period; moreover, there is evidence that the cult was practised on a large scale and not just in small localities or by small groups. This indicates that the religion and cult were organized within the social system and were practised on a national scale with political implications.

Probably the political structure of Chavín was a theocracy, i.e., rule by the deity with the deity in control of the human organization. The actual form of this political system is: (1) those holding political power are at the same time holders of the highest religious authority; (2) the holders of political power claim that their authority has been granted by the deity and demand the absolute obedience of the ruled; and (3) various other forms appear according to the historical context. The basic form of (1) is seen in the primitive shamanistic customs of the pre-Chavín period, while the form of (2) corresponds to the animal-ancestor concept of the Olmec in the New World and also to the "Son of the Sun God Ra" concept in ancient Egypt. According to Coe, the religious cult of the Olmec was a royal cult. The special characteristic of this particular animal-ancestor mythology was that animals of the feline species were ancestors of the royal family, who, by virtue of this, had a different blood line from that of ordinary people. The divine origin of the king's line provided justification for the Olmec dynasty and clearly established that the king was occupying the seat of the god's authority.

On the other hand, material that describes animal-ancestor mythology in detail, such as we have for the Olmec, has not yet been discovered at Chavín. It is unclear whether the Chavín had a dynastic system or celebrated a royal cult. However, with the onset of the Chavín period, the character of the feline cult changed, and there are signs that it was

performed on a tribal scale. Also, there is a strong possibility that the anthropomorphic deity of the Lanzón was an ancestral god. Normally, ancestor worship involves the creation of a blood-related group which includes the ancestor, the sanctification of the special family, and the emphasizing of family ties. In addition, such practical utilization of the ancestral-god concept has various political implications, such as the removal of tribal conflicts and insecurity of the peasants and the promotion of tribal unity. Therefore, if Chavín was at the stage of development of a chiefdom or an ancient state, the ancestral god could naturally have been the source of power supporting the blood line, the status quo, and the political organization of the chief class or royal family circle of the Chavín. Also, it can be assumed that stabilization of the political order would be achieved through the systematization of the ancestral cult.

The above is an inquiry into the development process of the feline cult in the Andes based on the Formative-period culture of the highland region. To summarize, the feline cult originated in the worship of an animistic being or animal deity, gradually changed into worship of an anthropomorphic deity, and expanded widely with the incorporation of an animal-ancestral-god concept. At the same time, these changes corresponded to the stages of political and social development from the primitive agricultural community of the first period to the chiefdom and the appearance of a state. It is extremely difficult to estimate the actual time when the animal-ancestor mythology originated: however, there are numerous instances in other cultures that show that founding-father mythology is closely connected with the establishment of worship of an ancestral god and with the origin of the state. If it is permissible to assume that Chavín was the first unified state in the Andes, it is not unreasonable to say that the ancestral mythology relating to the feline was associated with the formation of Chavín culture in South America.

Conclusion

THIS PAPER has been an investigation based on archaeological materials from the pre-Chavín cultures, which originated in the Huallaga River basin in the central Peruvian highlands. It has made special reference to the relationship between these cultures and the Chavín culture and has offered suggestions about the origins of the Chavín culture itself.

Believing the feline cult to be central to the development of the Chavín culture, I have traced the changes in artistic style from the pre-Chavín to the Chavín, using the feline motif as a base, and I have also examined the various geometric designs that are thought to be related to the feline motif. Assuming that these changes in artistic style were caused by internal changes in the feline cult, I have attempted to show the links between such changes and the changes in the god concept or the developmental stages in the religious system, politics, and society. With the former case, the external stylistic changes are shown on actual material evidence, making it comparatively easy to decide whether my judgment is reasonable or not. However, with the latter, the changes and developmental phases in the content of the religion and society were always extremely difficult to ascertain, and it is probable that I have made some erroneous interpretations. This paper makes reference to the study and opinions of various scholars regarding the developmental stages of primitive religions and ancient societies in other parts of the world; at the same time, comparison is made between the legends and myths of Mesoamerica and the Andean region and the shamanism and animal-ancestor mythology that developed in ancient Asia and Siberia, using modern American techniques of ethnological and mythological study to examine the part these ideas played in the formative process of ancient kingdoms. It is to be expected that any conclusions reached by this type of methodology will generate a variety of

differing opinions in different fields. However, this method is unavoidable as long as there are no historical documents explaining the materials that originated in the Andean region in the first and second millennia B.C. For myself, I believe that unique religious or cosmological concepts and cultural developmental stages different from those in other areas may have existed in the ancient Andes. Frank criticism or comment on this question from other scholars would be most welcome.

Finally, I would like to add a few words on the origin and spread of pottery in the Wairajirca and Kotosh phases of pre-Chavín. The discussion in this paper about the origins of the Chavín culture has made exclusive use of the pre-Chavín materials found in the Huallaga River basin, but I do not wish to imply that the cradle of the Chavín culture was limited to this region alone. While the materials available certainly indicate a direct relationship with the Chavín culture and, as such, are extremely valuable, it must be pointed out that the area in which they were discovered is rather small and limited. Therefore, in order to interpret the origins of Chavín, it is also necessary to examine to what degree the materials presented here enjoy more widespread validity. To this end, the spread and development of the Wairajirca and Kotosh pottery must be defined more precisely.

The strongest genealogical relationships are observed between these and the incised pottery found in the Cave of the Owl in the tropical region (Lathrap and Roys 1963) and the early Tutishcainyo of the Yarinacocha in the Ucayali River basin (Lathrap 1968). Certain forms and designs on some of the materials display similarities to types of pottery that occur widely in Nuclear America and belong to the early Formative period. This has already been discussed by several other scholars (Meggers and Evans 1961, 1962; Meggers, Evans, and Estrada 1965; Evans and Meggers 1968; Lathrap 1958, 1970;

Ford 1969; Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972).

However, all the pottery types that belong to the Formative period display regional peculiarities, and, if a strict comparison is made, notable differences emerge. In the light of these differences, it would seem that the genealogy of the early-period pottery in the Andean region probably did not derive from one single source but rather from the intermingling and combining of various pottery cultures.

It is extremely difficult, with the present state of knowledge, to trace a direct line of descent for the pre-Chavín pottery of the highlands. Nevertheless, I believe that it is very important to ascertain the geographic distribution of pre-Chavín pottery, paying particular attention to the key themes and motifs suggested in this report.

The geographic distribution of pre-Chavín pottery has been confirmed by excavations at the Kotosh, Shillacoto, and Wairajirca sites in the Huallaga River basin; recently, information has been received of fresh material unearthed from Tambo-mayo in Cajamarca (Ravines, personal communication; see Izumi and Terada 1972: 307), while pottery discovered at Torrecitas, in the same area, which was previously classified as Chavín, is clearly pottery of the Wairajirca style (Reichlen and Reichlen 1949: 154–6, Fig. 4). In addition to this, Wairajirca and Kotosh pottery is definitely mixed in with

the pottery discovered at Chavín de Huantar (Tello 1960: Figs. 148b, 151c, 156, 160a, g, h; Carrión Cachot 1948; Lám. XII.5–8) and Chicama (Carrión Cachot 1948; Lám. XV.1–11) and included in the broad classification of Chavín style. I have not examined the actual materials, having had access only to illustrations, but if they had been collected under the correct conditions, then it would have been clear that they belonged to the pre-Chavín phase of that area. However, to settle this point, it will be necessary to confirm the actual stratigraphic positions.

The important point to note is that the geographic distribution of pre-Chavín-style pottery is not merely limited to the Huallaga River but also extends to Cajamarca (Marañon River drainage) and the Chicama Valley on the northern coast, all of which belonged to the cultural sphere of Chavín. These facts indicate the possibility of overlapping in the geographic distribution of pre-Chavín-style pottery in the highlands with the Chavín cultural sphere.

In the future, investigations into the geographic distribution of Wairajirca- and Kotosh-style pottery will show if a cultural horizon was formed by the pre-Chavín cultures and, moreover, where its center was located. I believe that the results of such investigations will throw light on the key questions regarding the origin of the Chavín culture.

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* Note: Explanation of the abbreviations. S-942-30: S means Shillacoto. The first number (942) is the bag number, and the

second (30) is the fragment number. SHE-3 is the excavation zone, and 12 is the layer.

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- a. s-332-6 SHD-5/14
- b. s-900-2 SHF-2/12
- c. s-887-9 SHF-4/11
- d. s-229-5 SHB-4/12
- e. s-524-45 SHE-4/11
- f. s-35-12 SHB-2/13
- g. s-831-12 SHD-5/12
- h. s-468-6 SHE-2/11

- c. s-326-23 SHB-3/14
- d. s-35-11 SHB-2/13
- e. s-06-15 SHC-3/13
- f. s-866-34 SHE-4/12
- g. s-986-76 SHE-4/12
- h. s-362-3 SHD-3/13
- i. s-06-32 SHB-3/12
- j. s-481-21 SHF-3/11
- k. s-06-51 SHA-3/13
- l. s-06-35 SHB-3/13

PLATE IX

- a. s-129-12 SHB-2/12
- b. s-230-3 SHB-4/12
- c. s-61-16 SHB-5/10
- d. s-686-37 SHE-5/14
- e. s-858-76 SHE-5/12
- f. s-859-27 SHE-5/12
- g. s-528-19 SHG-5/13

PLATE X

- a. s-773-19 SHE-2/10
- b. s-777-28 SHC-3/11
- c. s-589-1 SHE-4/11
- d. s-634-3 SHD-5/11
- e. s-774-29 SHE-2/10

PLATE XI

- a. s-642-10 SHD-5/11
- b. s-622-17 SHD-5/11
- c. s-632-26 SHD-5/11
- d. s-336-23 SHD-2/10
- e. s-1007-13 SHG-5/11
- f. s-496-7 SHE-5/9
- g. s-520-15 SHE-3/12

PLATE XII

- a. s-06-14 SHB-2/12
- b. s-528-37 SHE-3/11
- c. s-06-68 SHF-4/14
- d. s-06-72 SHC-3/13
- e. s-06-46 SHB-2/14
- f. s-605-25 SHE-4/9
- g. s-795-15 SHE-2/13
- h. s-06-69 SHF-5/9
- i. s-06-51 SHF-5/11
- j. s-06-70 SHF-5/9

PLATE XIII

- a. s-299-12 SHB-2/12
- b. s-309-2 SHD-3/12

PLATE XIV

- a. s-04-65 SHB, C-3/Tomb 4
- b. s-04-57 SHB, C-3/Tomb 4
- c. s-04-66 SHC-3/11
- d. Surface Collection.

PLATE XV

- a. s-738-25 SHD-2/11
- b. s-308-45 SHB-2/13
- c. s-310-2 SHA-2/13
- d. s-544-12 SHE-3/14
- e. s-748-18 SHD-2/12
- f. s-311-8 SHB-3/13
- g. s-748-5 SHD-2/12
- h. s-7-7 SHA-2/13
- i. s-794-10 SHC-2/12

PLATE XVI

- a. s-92-1 SHB-2/14
- b. s-996-15 SHF-3/14

PLATE XVII

- a. s-177-1 SHB-2/13
- b. s-535-11 SHE-2/13
- c. s-338-22 SHD-4/11
- d. s-35-2 SHB-2/13
- e. s-278-4 SHC-4/11
- f. s-277-15 SHA-2/12
- g. s-267-90 SHB-2/13

PLATE XVIII

- a. s-47-10 SHD-2/13
- b. s-543-13 SHE-3/12
- c. s-319-4 SHB-2/12
- d. s-277-23 SHA-2/12
- e. s-39-5 SHB-2/13
- f. s-270-1 SHB-3/12
- g. s-270-4 SHB-3/12
- h. s-239-1 SHB-2/13

i. S-982-103 SHE-2/14
j. S-35-1 SHB-2/13

PLATE XIX

a. S-852-33 SHE-2/11
b. S-174-25 SHB-1/13
c. S-252-II SHB-2/12
d. S-267-5 SHB-2/13
e. S-830-9 SHG-5/9
f. S-493-10 SHE-3/11
g. S-483-18 SHF-2/11
h. S-527-29 SHF-3/11
i. S-485-9 SHE-2/10
j. S-496-17 SHE-5/9

PLATE XX

a. S-344-18 SHA-2/12
b. S-618-10 SHC-2/10
c. S-258-1 SHB-2/12
d. S-865-2 SHE-4/12
e. S-971-7 SHE-2/14
f. S-175-65 SHB-2/13
g. S-985-47 SHF-4/12
h. S-241-19 SHB-4/13
i. S-309-5 SHD-4/13
j. S-945-13 SHE-2/14

PLATE XXI

a. S-309-4 SHD-4/13
b. S-704-13 SHE-2/14
c. S-114-1 SHD-2/13
d. S-334-5 SHB-3/13
e. S-333-100 SHC-4/13
f. S-855-16 SHE-5/12
g. S-261-15 SHB-1/13
h. S-390-7 SHB-2/13
i. S-858-2 SHE-5/12
j. S-157-18 SHB-1/13
k. S-136-6 SHC-3/13
l. S-236-11 SHC-3/13

PLATE XXII

a. S-277-10 SHA-2/12
b. S-5-4 SHC-2/12
c. S-278-5 SHC-4/11
d. S-337-32 SHD-3/13
e. S-269-90 SHB-4/13
f. S-326-21 SHB-4/14

FIGURE 1

a. Reconstructed Drawing from Pl. 1a.
b. from Pl. 1b.
c. from Pl. 1c.
d. from Pl. 1d.
e. from Pl. 1e.
f. from Pl. 1f.
g. from Pl. 1g.
h. from Pl. 1h.

FIGURE 2

a. Reconstructed Drawing from Pl. 1i.
b. from Pl. 1m.
c. from Pl. 1j.
d. from Pl. 1k.
e. from Pl. 1l.
f. from Pl. 1a.
g. from Pl. 1b.
h. from Pl. 1c.
i. from Pl. 1d.
j. from Pl. 1e.
k. from Pl. 1g.
l. from Pl. 1f.

FIGURE 3

a. Reconstructed Drawing from Pl. 1h.
b. from Pl. 1i.
c. from Pl. 1j.
d. from Pl. 1k.
e. from Pl. 1l.
f. from Pl. 1m.
g. from Pl. 1n.
h. from Pl. 1o.
i. from Pl. 1q.
j. from Pl. 1p.
k. from Pl. 1r.
l. from Pl. 1s.
m. from Pl. 1t.

FIGURE 4

a. Reconstructed Drawing from Pl. 1a.
b. from Pl. 1b.
c. from Pl. 1c.
d. from Pl. 1d.
e. from Pl. 1e.
f. from Pl. 1f.
g. from Pl. 1h.
h. from Pl. 1g.
i. from Pl. 1i.
j. from Pl. 1j.
k. from Pl. 1k.

FIGURE 5

- a. Reconstructed Drawing from Pl. ivb.
- b. from Pl. iva.
- c. from Pl. ivc.
- d. from Pl. ivd.
- e. from Pl. ive.
- f. from Pl. ivf.
- g. from Pl. ivg.
- h. from Pl. ivh.
- i. from Pl. ivn.

FIGURE 6

- a. Reconstructed Design Motif from Pl. xva.
- b. from Pl. xvb.
- c. from Pl. xve.
- d. from Pl. xvc.
- e. from Pl. xvg.
- f. from Pl. xvf.
- g. from Pl. xvi.
- h. from Pl. xvii.

FIGURE 7

- a. Reconstructed Design Motif from Pl. xviiia.
- b. from Pl. xviiib.
- c. from Pl. xviiid.
- d. from Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 81a.1.
- e. from Pl. xviiie.
- f. from Pl. xxh.
- g. from Pl. xviiig.
- h. from Pl. xviiif.

FIGURE 8

- a. Reconstructed Design Motif from Pl. xxiiia.
- b. from Pl. xxiiic.
- c. from Pl. xxij, k.
- d. from Pl. xxii.
- e. from Pl. xxnb.
- f. from Pl. xxif.
- g. from Pl. xxid.
- h. from Pl. xxie.

FIGURE 9

- a. Reconstructed Design Motif from Pl. xixh.
- b. from Pl. xixj.
- c. from Pl. xixi.
- d. from Pl. xixg.
- e. from Pl. xixa.
- f. from Pl. xixe.
- g. from Pl. xixc.
- h. from Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 81a.2.
- i. from Pl. xixb.

- j. from Pl. xviiiia.
- k. from Pl. xixd.
- l. from Pl. xviiiib.
- m. from Pl. xviiiid.
- n. from Pl. xviiig.
- o. from Pl. xviiiif.
- p. from Pl. xviiiie.

FIGURE 10

- a. Reconstructed Design Motif from Pl. xxih.
- b. from Pl. xxif.
- c. from Pl. xxig.
- d. from Pl. xxte.
- e. from Pl. xxid.
- f. from Pl. xxic.
- g. from Pl. xxib.
- h. from Pl. xxia.
- i. from Pl. xxd.
- j. from Pl. xxb.
- k. from Pl. xxa.
- l. from Pottery (s-477-1).
- m. from Pl. iii, Pl. xxj.

FIGURE 11

- a. The Lanzón. After Lumbreras 1969: 104.
- b. Cornice of the Felines. After Lumbreras 1970: 102.
- c. Stone Mortar of Pennsylvannia. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 8.
- d. Frieze of the Felines. After Tello 1960: Fig. 65.
- e. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 93.
- f. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 98.
- g. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 99.
- h. Cornice of the Eagle-Jaguar. *Idem*: Fig. 36.
- i. Cornice of the Eagle-Jaguar. After Lumbreras 1970: 104.
- j. Stele of the Eagle. *Idem*: 92.
- k. Detail of the South Column of the Portal, Chavín. *Idem*: 96.
- l. Detail of the North Column of the Portal, Chavín. *Idem*: 97.

FIGURE 12

- a. Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 102.
- b. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 108.
- c. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 97.
- d. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 96.
- e. Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Lám. x.e.
- f. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Lám. x.h.
- g. Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Lám. x.i.

- h. Detail of Lintel of the Felines, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1970: 85.
- i-m. Details of the Raimondi Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 33.
- n. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 74.
- o. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 53.
- p. Detail of the Yauya Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 34.
- q. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 73.
- r. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 68.
- s. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 42.
- t. Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 77.
- u. Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 41.
- v. Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 66.

FIGURE 13

- a. Detail of the Stele Raimondi, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 33.
- b. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Lumbreiras, 1970: 92.
- c. Detail of the Lanzón. After Tello 1923: Lám. III.
- d. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Lám. x.e.
- e. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Lám. xf.
- f. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 96.
- g. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 119.
- h. Detail of the Stele Raimondi, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 33.
- i. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 127.1.
- j. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 99.
- k. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Lám. xi.
- l. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Lám. xh.
- m. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Lám. xc.
- n. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 102.
- o. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 73.
- p. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 74.
- q. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 64.
- r. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1956: Fig. 80.
- s. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 88.
- t. Detail of Cornice of the Felines, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1970: 102.
- u. Detail of Cornice of the Eagle-Jaguar, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 36.
- v. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. Museo Amano Collection.
- w. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 40.
- x. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 77.
- y. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 39.
- z. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 42.
- a'. Detail of Pl. xivc.

- b'. Detail of Pl. ivr & Fig. 3k.
- c'. Detail of Pl. xiiif.
- d'. Detail of Pl. ivj.
- e'. Detail of Pl. ivf.
- f'. Detail of Pl. viiiic.
- g'. Detail of Pl. xivra.
- h'. Detail of Pl. xivb.
- i'. Detail of Pl. xivb.
- j'. Detail of Pl. ijd & Fig. 4d.
- k'. Detail of Pl. ia & Fig. 1a.
- l'. Detail of Pl. imb & Fig. 4b.
- m'. Detail of Pl. id & Fig. 1d.
- n'. Detail of Pl. ib & Fig. 1b.
- o'. Detail of Pl. iih & Fig. 3a.
- p'. Detail of Pl. if & Fig. 1f.
- q'. Detail of Pl. ih & Fig. 1h.
- r'. Detail of Pl. ig & Fig. 1g.
- s'. Detail of Pl. ivg & Fig. 5g.
- t'. Detail of Pl. im & Fig. 2b.
- u'. Detail of Pl. viib.
- v'. Detail of Pl. xivd.
- w'. Detail of Pl. iii & Fig. 3b.
- x'. Detail of Pl. xnb.
- y'. Detail of Pl. viig.
- z'. Detail of Pls. iive & ve.
- a''. Detail of Pl. xiiic.
- b''. Detail of Pl. ivp & Fig. 3j.

FIGURE 14

- a. Detail of Stone Mortar, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 127.
- b. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 41.
- c. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 122.
- d. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 39.
- e. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 54.
- f. Detail of the North Column, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1970: 97.
- g. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: 90.
- h. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 44.
- i. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 95.
- j. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Lám. xg.
- k. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Lám. xi.
- l. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. Museo Amano Collection.
- m. Detail of Textiles Decoration, Chavín. Museo Amano Collection.
- n. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 42.
- o. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 51.
- p. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. Izumi and Sono 1963, Pl. 127.1.

- q. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 96.
- r. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1956: Fig. 15.g.
- s. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 124.
- t. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1971: Fig. 22.
- u. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 20.
- v. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 40.
- w. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 42.
- x. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 77.
- y. Detail of Pl. xrvb.
- z. Detail of Pl. xrv.
- a'. Detail of Pl. xrv.
- b'. Detail of Pl. xrvd.
- c'. Detail of Pl. nl & Fig. 3e.
- d'. Detail of Pl. ni & Fig. 3b.
- e'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Shillacoto-Kotosh. After Izumi, Cuculiza, and Kano 1972, Pl. 28.3 & Pl. 47.4.
- f'. Detail of Pl. xvi & Fig. 6q.
- g'. Detail of Pl. xvf & Fig. 6f.
- h'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 64b.7.
- i'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. *Idem*: Pl. 65b.2.
- j'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1971: Fig. 19.
- k'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 67a.3.
- l'. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 89.
- m'. Detail of Stele Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 52.
- n'. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 68.
- o'. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1970: 116.
- p'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 144.39.
- q'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Terada 1972: Pl. 110.13.
- r'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Kotosh. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pls. 131.7, 45a.
- s'. Detail of Pl. xva & Fig. 6a.
- t'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Kotosh. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pls. 44a, 135.2.
- u'. Detail of Pl. xvc & Fig. 6d.
- v'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Wairajirca. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 81b.16.
- w'. Detail of Pl. il & Fig. 2e.
- x'. Detail of Pl. xvb & Fig. 6b.
- y'. Detail of Pl. ia & Fig. 1a.

FIGURE 15

- a. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 144.52.
- b. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1970: 92.
- c. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: 92.
- d. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 98.
- e. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 64.
- f. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 83.
- g. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 72.
- h. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 99.
- i. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 54.
- j. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 92.
- k. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 66b.1.
- l. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 94.
- m. Detail of the Lanzón, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1969: 104.
- n. Detail of Pl. xxib & Fig. 10e.
- o. Detail of Pl. xxia & Fig. 10h.
- p. Detail of Pl. xxie & Fig. 10e.
- q. Detail of Pl. xxa & Fig. 10k.
- r. Detail of Pl. xxh & Fig. 10m.
- s. Detail of Pl. ib & Fig. 1b.
- t. Detail of Pl. ie & Fig. 2j.
- u. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 65b.1.
- v. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 6.21.
- w. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 65b.12.
- x. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 39.
- y. Detail of Pottery decoration, Chavín. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Lám. xv.20.
- z. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 6.19.
- a'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 6.18.
- b'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 65a.4.
- c'. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 98.
- d'. Detail of Textile Decoration, Chavín. Museo Amano Collection.
- e'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. After Lumbreiras 1970: 139.
- f'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Chavín. *Idem*: 152.
- g'. Detail of Stone Mortar, Chavín. After Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 8.

h'. Detail of Pottery decoration, Chavín. *Idem*: Lám. XIII.24.

i'. Detail of Stone Mortar, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 8.

j'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Chavín. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 47d, Fig. 45d.102.

k'. Detail of Pl. xxif & Fig. 10b.

l'. Detail of Pl. xxig & Fig. 10c.

m'. Detail of Pl. xxic & Fig. 10f.

n'. Detail of Pl. xxid & Fig. 10e.

o'. Detail of Stele, Chavín. After Tello 1960: Fig. 84.

p'. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 124.

q'. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 97.

r'. Detail of Stele, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 51.

s'. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 90.

t'. Detail of Tenoned Head, Chavín. *Idem*: Fig. 95.

u'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Kotosh. After Izumi and Sono 1963: Pl. 47a, Fig. 45d.99.

v'. Detail of Pottery Decoration, Kotosh-Wairajirca. *Idem*: Fig. 45e.132.

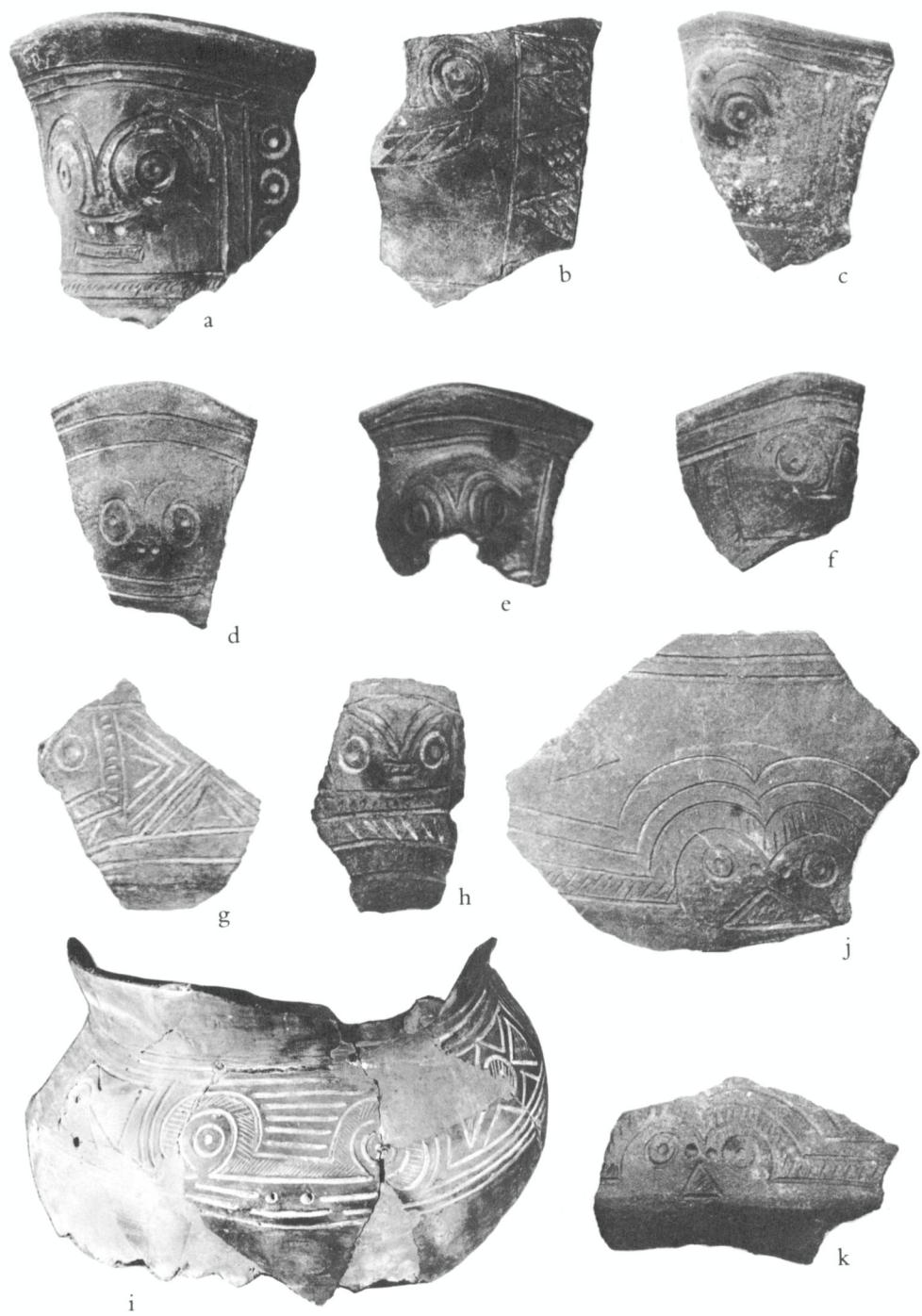
w'. Detail of Pl. xxih & Fig. 10a.



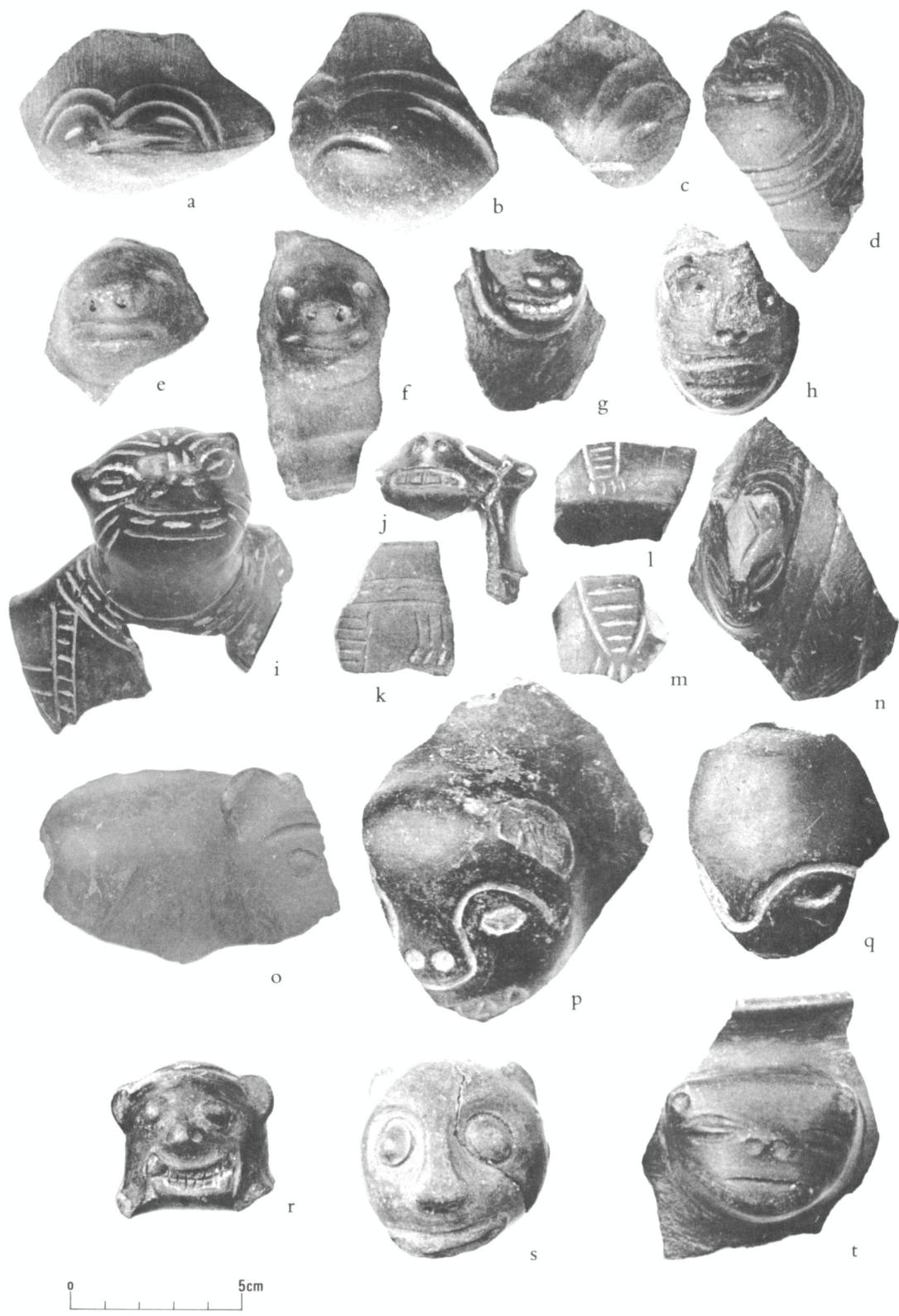
Pl. 1 Feline representations. a–h, Zoned Hachure Type A. i–m, Type B.



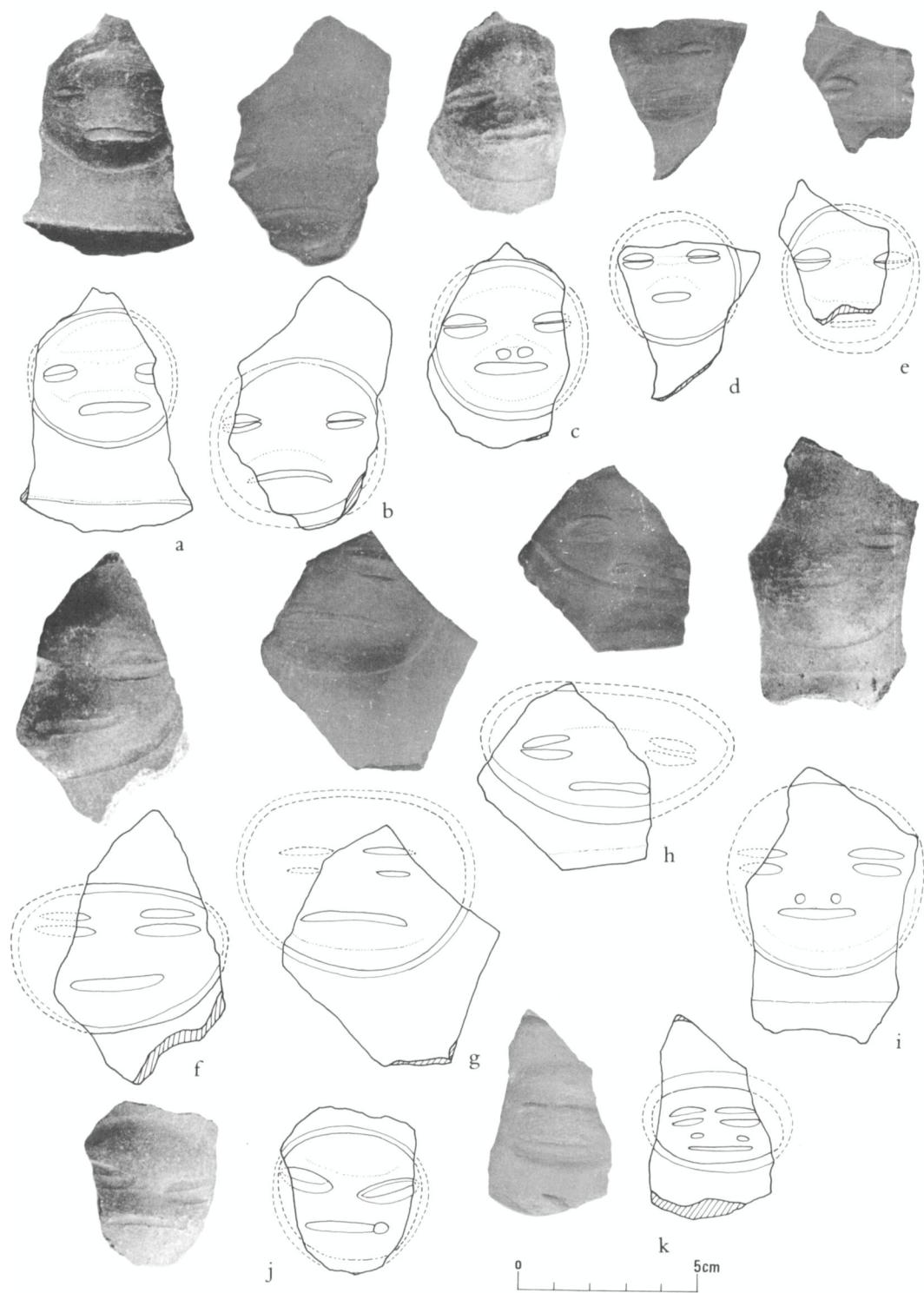
Pl. II Feline representations. a–g, Zoned Hachure Type C. h, Deep Incised Type. i–n, Broad-Line Incised Type.



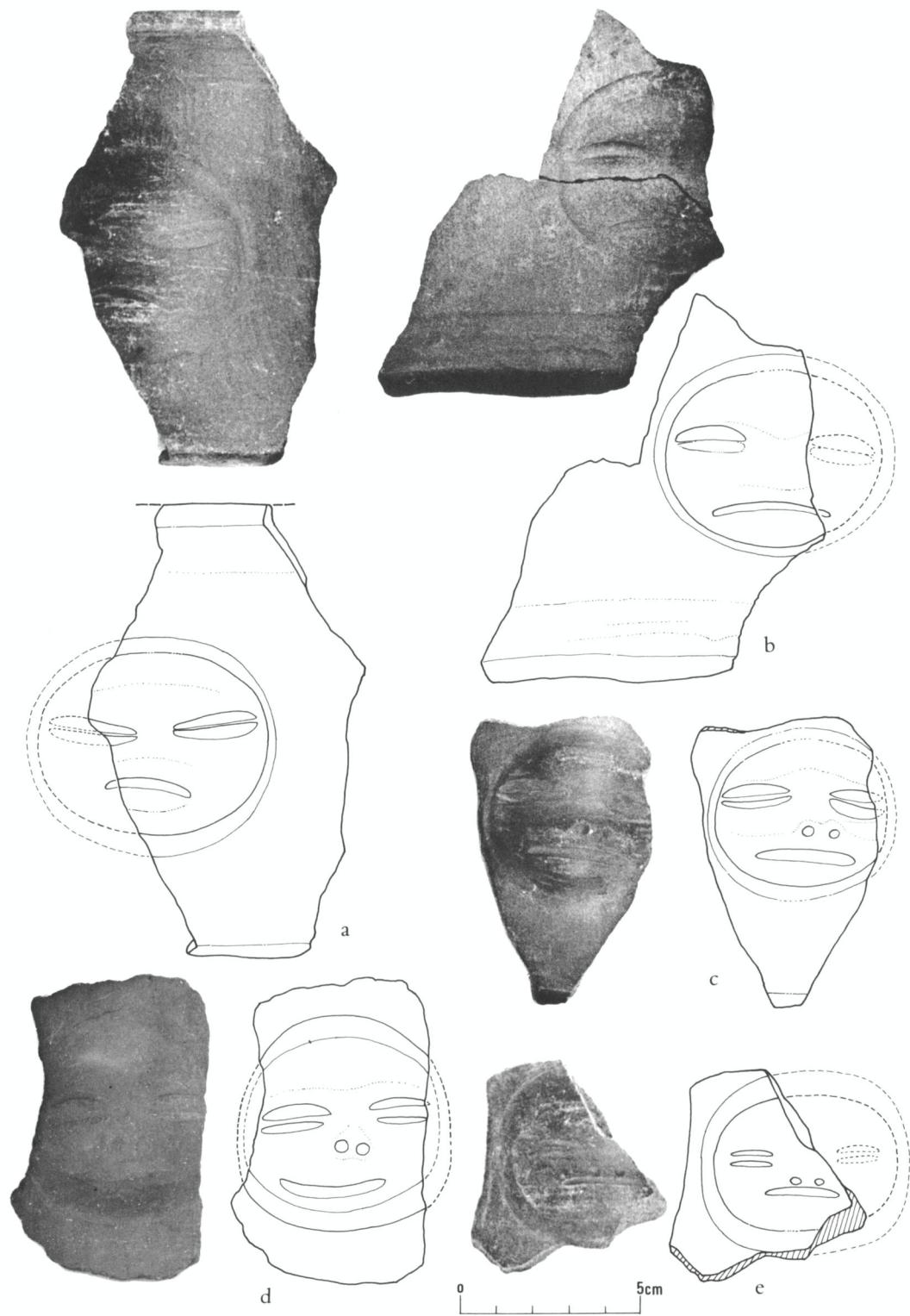
Pl. III Fine-line Incised Type. a-i, Feline representations. j, k, Bird representations.



Pl. iv Feline representations. a-h, Grooved Type. i-n, Black or Brown Polished Incised Type. o-t, Modeled Type.



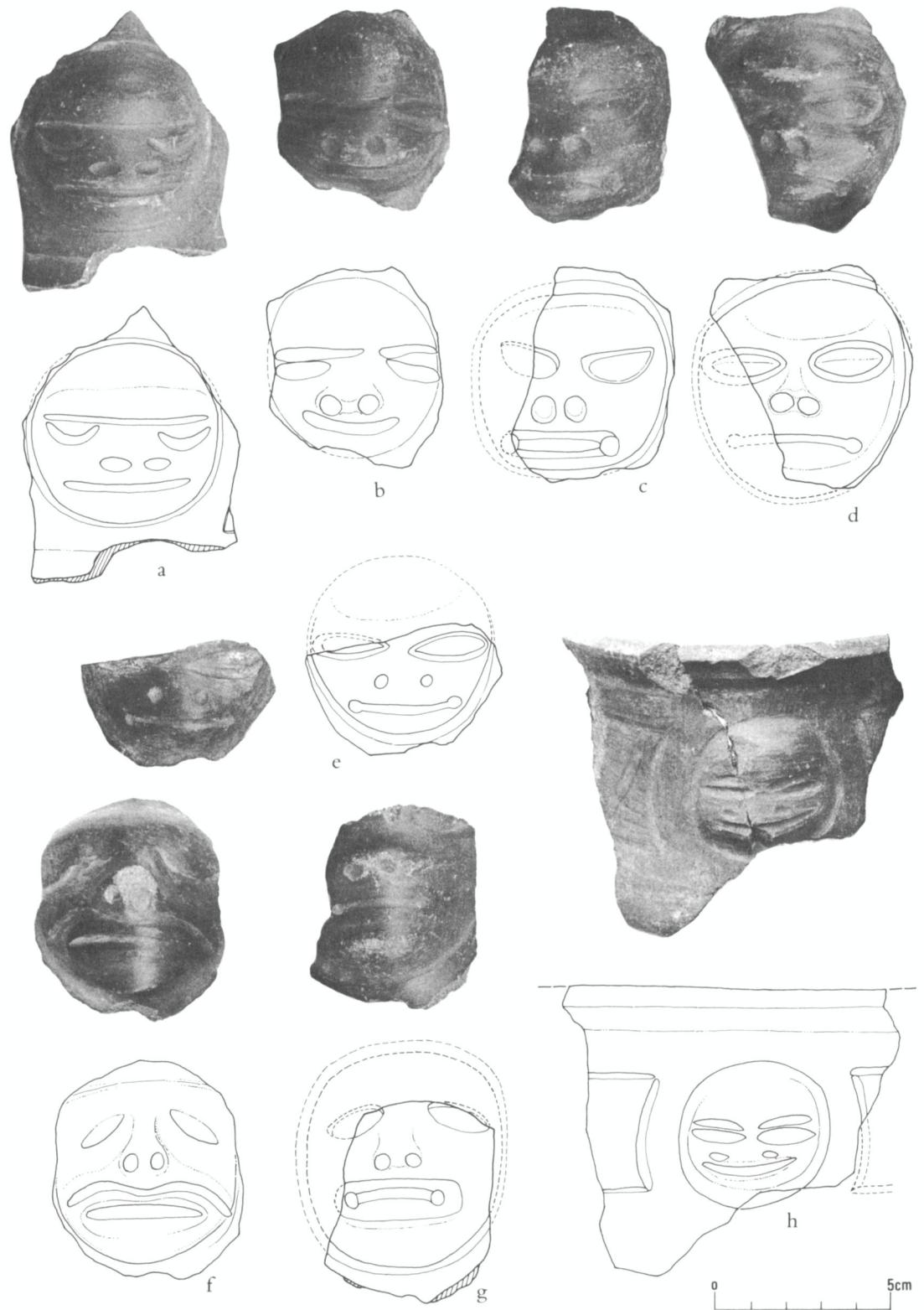
Pl. v Anthropomorphic representations. Type A. a-e, Subtype A-1. f-k, Subtype A-2.



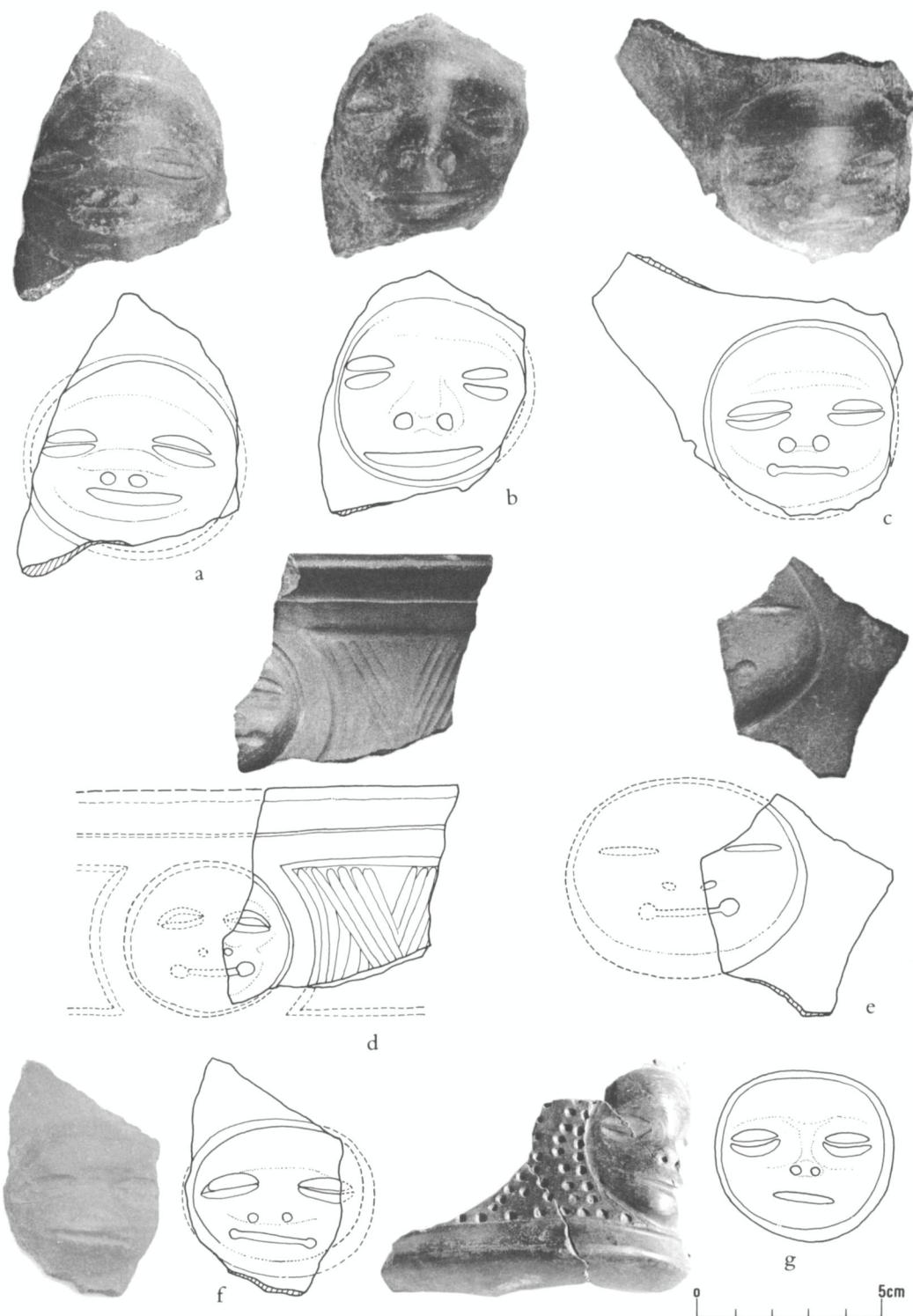
Pl. vi Anthropomorphic representations. Subtype A-3.



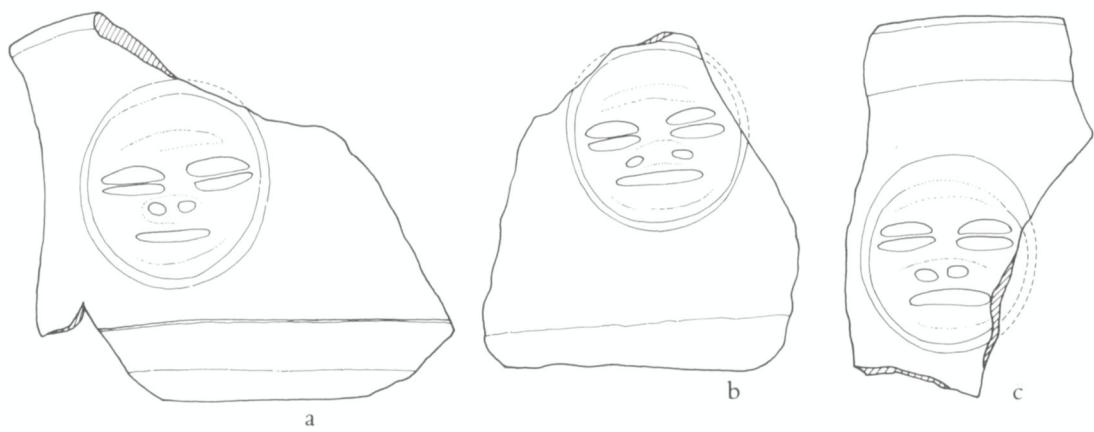
Pl. VII Anthropomorphic representations. Type B. a, Subtype B-1. b, Subtype B-1. c, Subtype B-2.



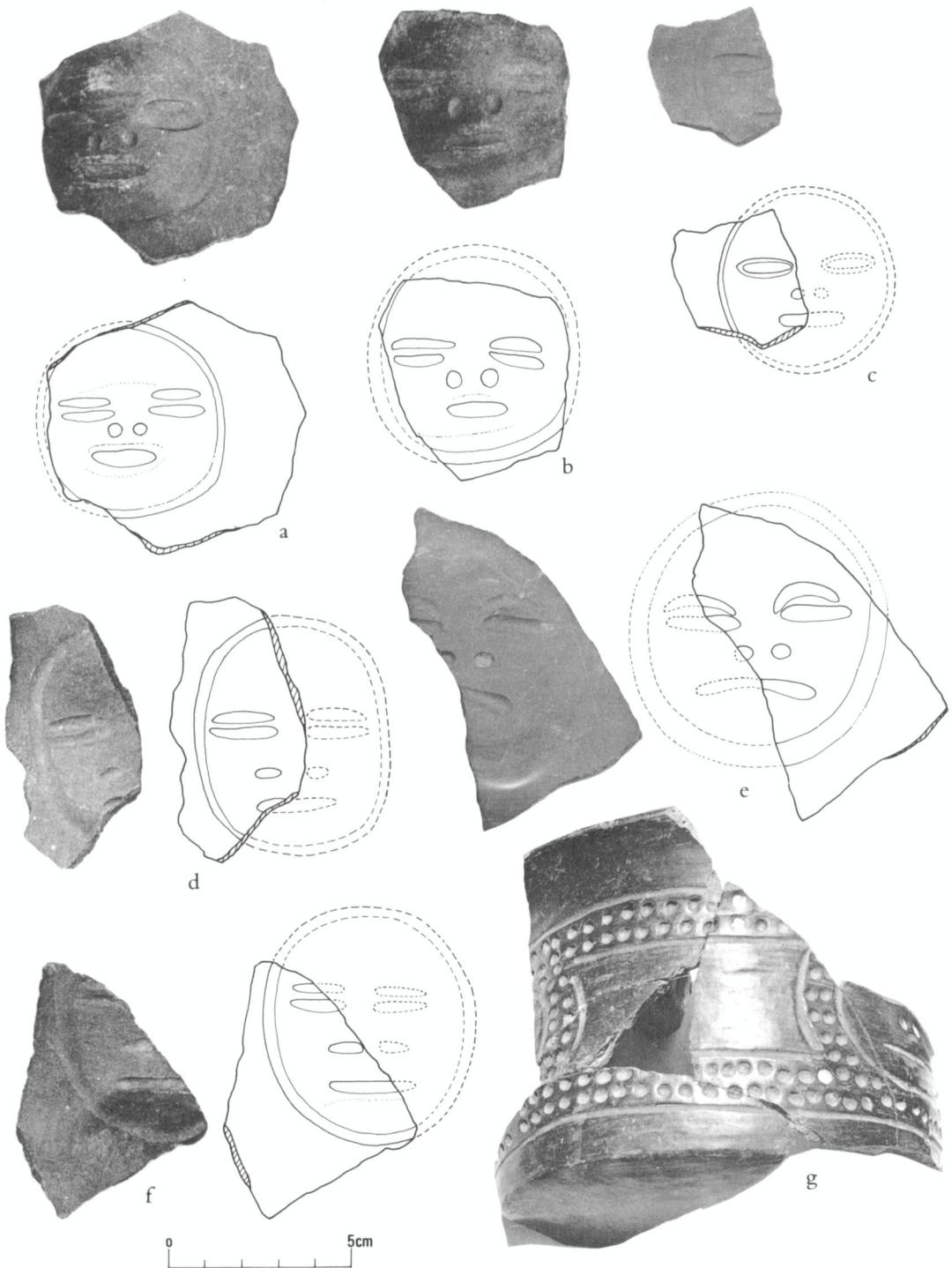
Pl. VIII Anthropomorphic representations. Subtype B-1.



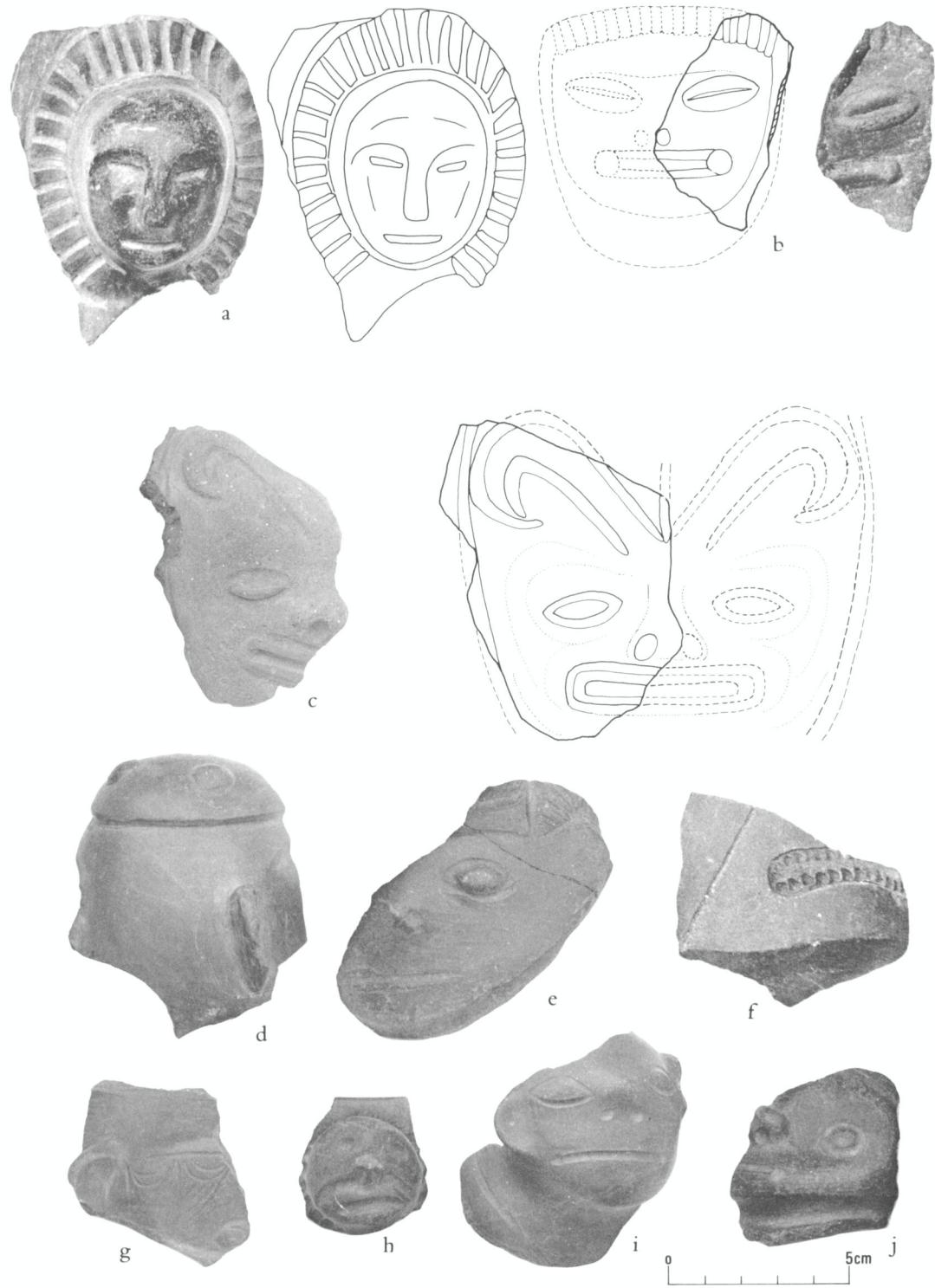
Pl. ix Anthropomorphic representations. Subtype B-2.



Pl. x Anthropomorphic representations. Type C.



Pl. xi Anthropomorphic representations. Type D.

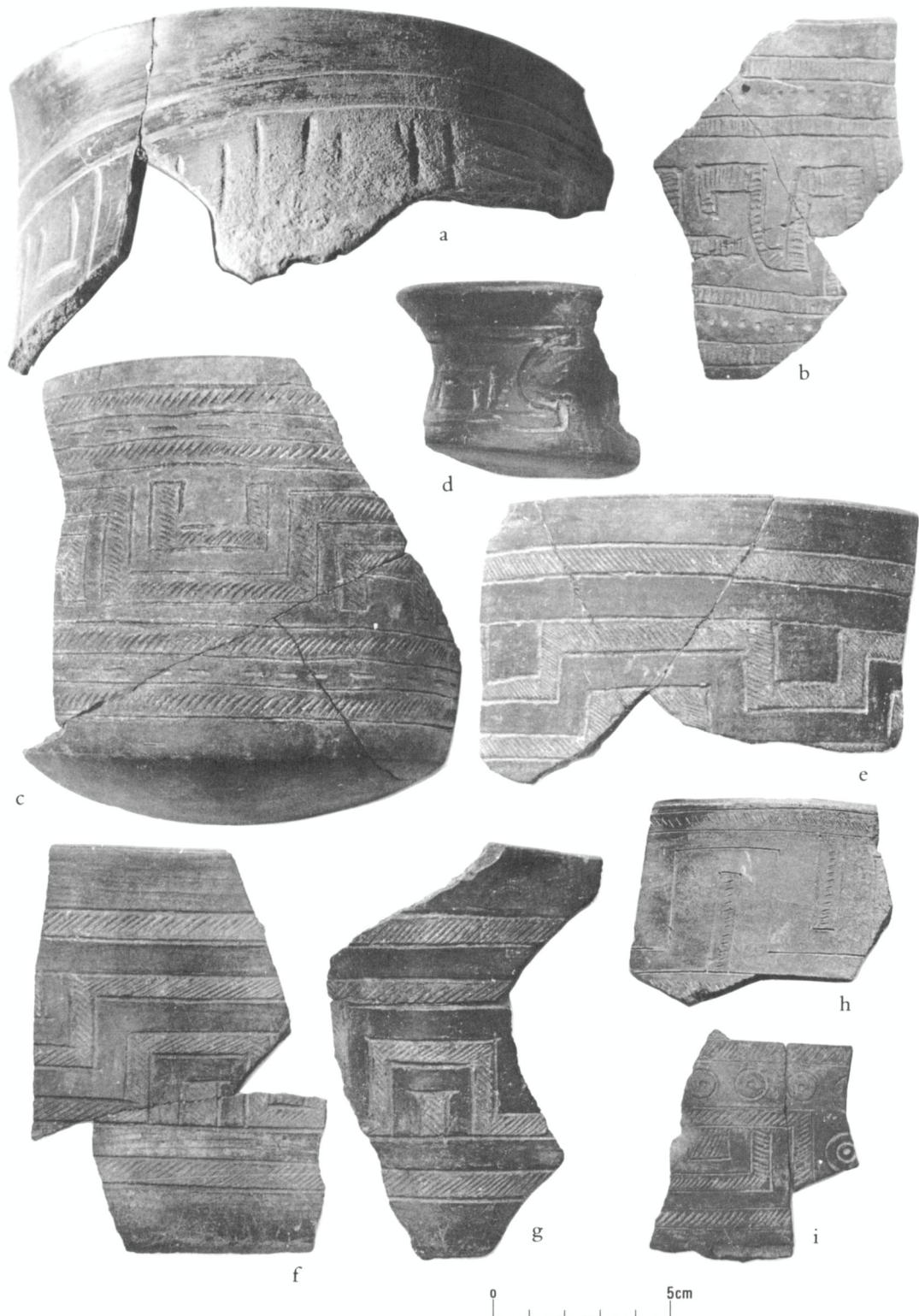


Pl. XII Anthropomorphic representations. Miscellaneous.



Pl. XIII a-f, Bird representations. g-l, Zoomorphic representations.

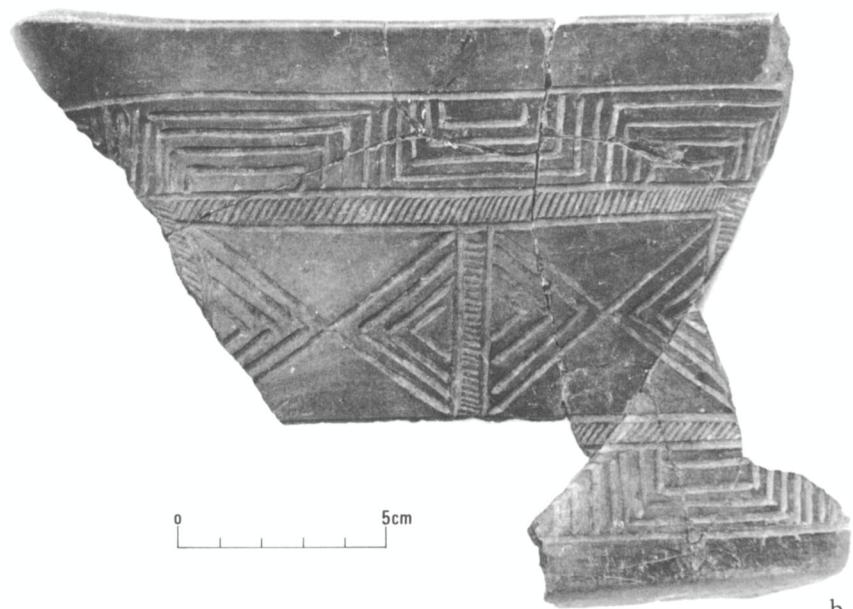




Pl. xv U-shaped design patterns.



a



b

Pl. xvi U-shaped design patterns.

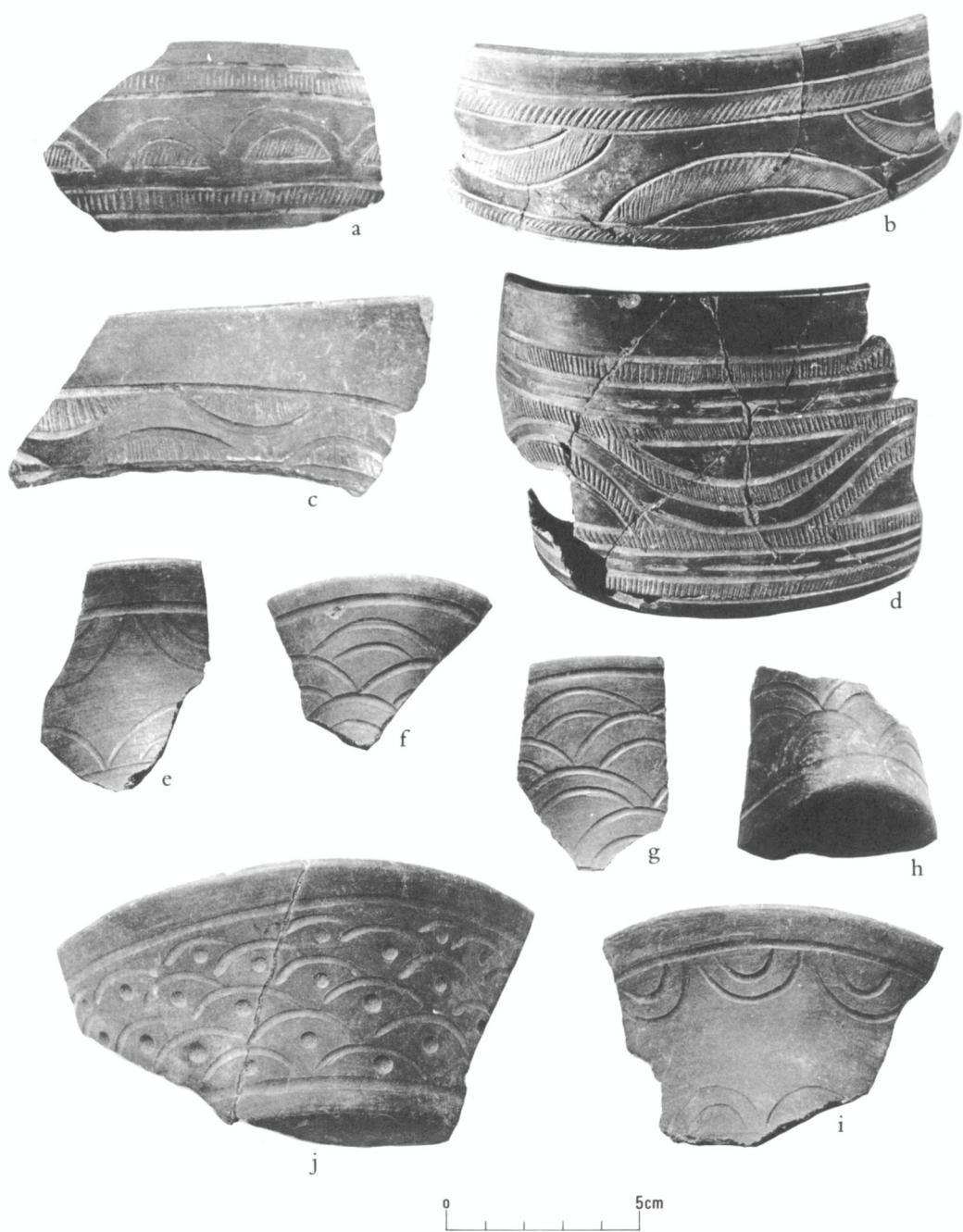


Pl. xvii a-d, T-shaped design patterns. e-g, Diamond-shaped design.



0 5cm

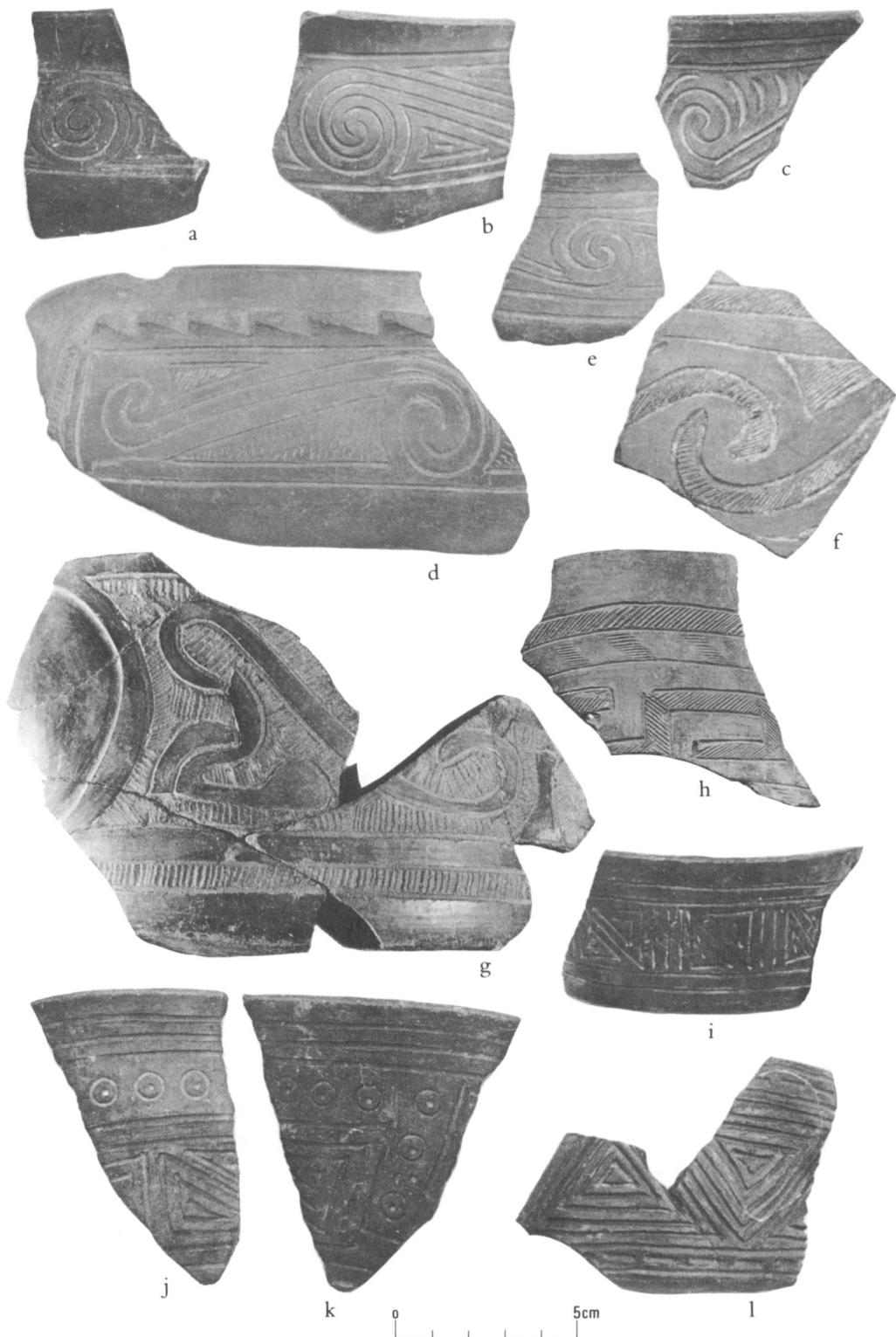
Pl. xviii a-d, Band design: combination of semicircles and triangles. e-g, Geometric design symbolizing feline eye or the sun.



Pl. xix Semicircular band design.



Pl. xx Panel design band composed of concentric circles, short parallel lines, and triangles.



Pl. xxi Spiral design motif.



0 5cm

Pl. xxii Double triangle-shaped design.

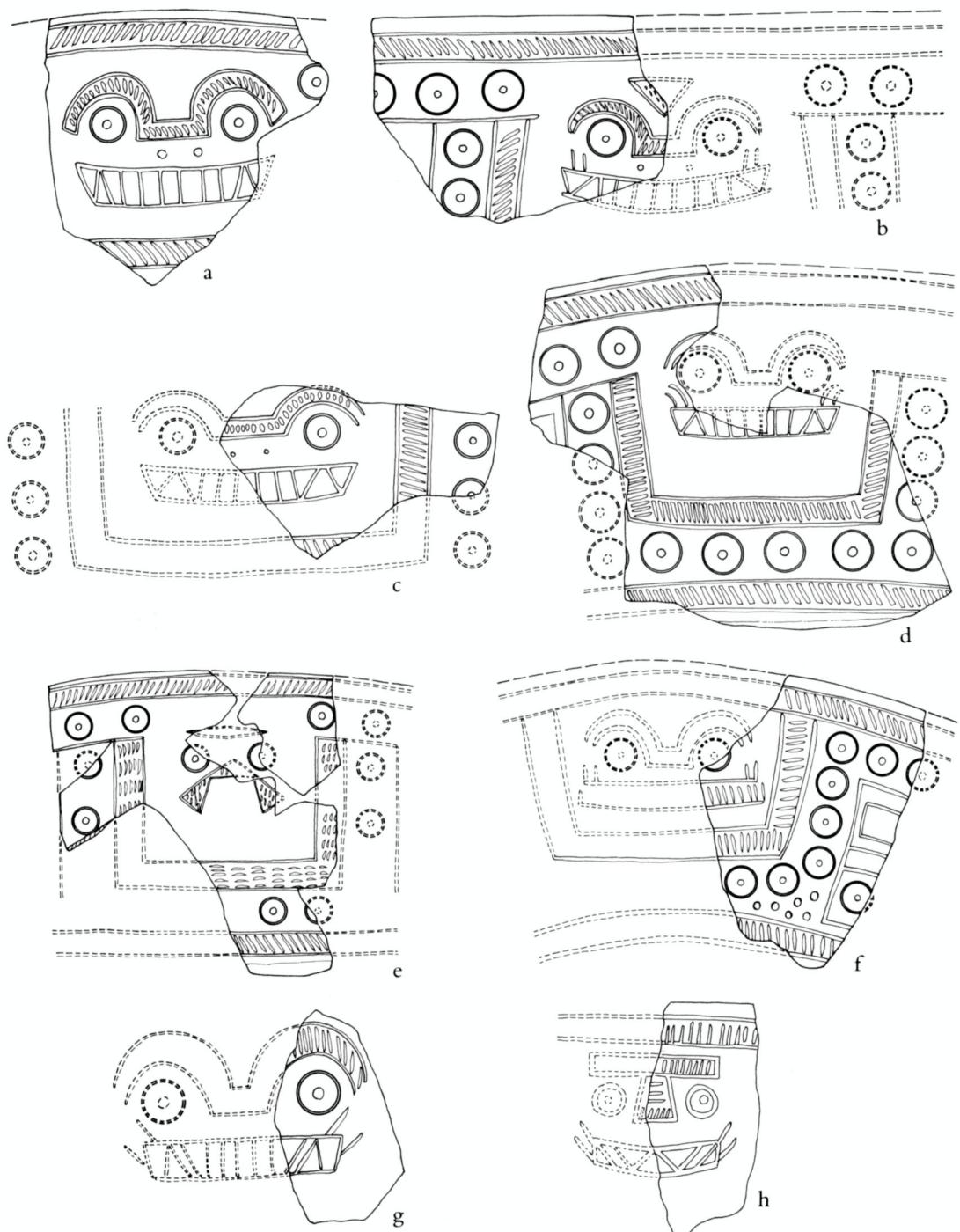


Fig. 1 Feline representations. Zoned Hachure Type A.

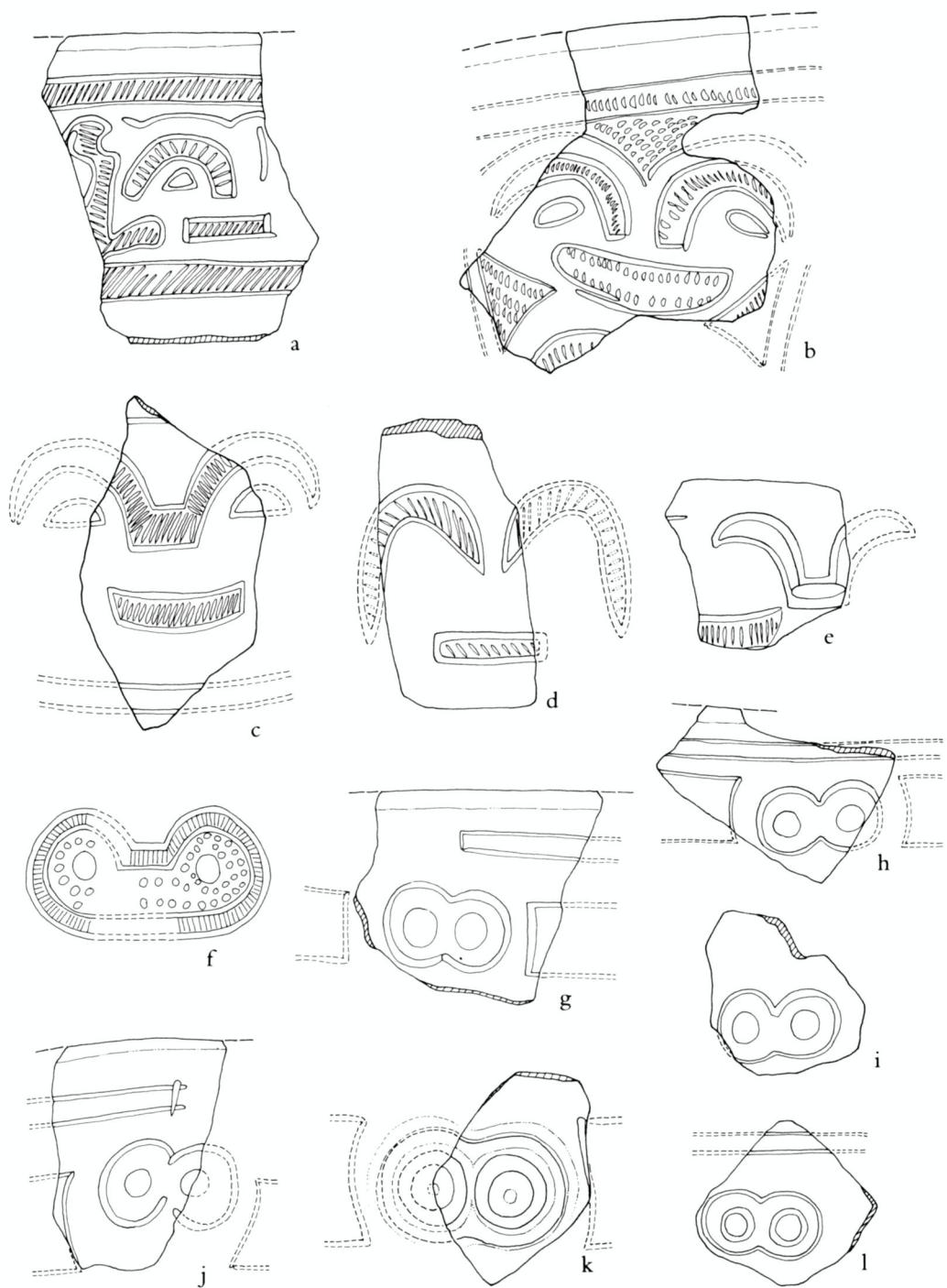


Fig. 2 Feline representations. a–e, Zoned Hachure Type B. f–l, Zoned Hachure Type C.

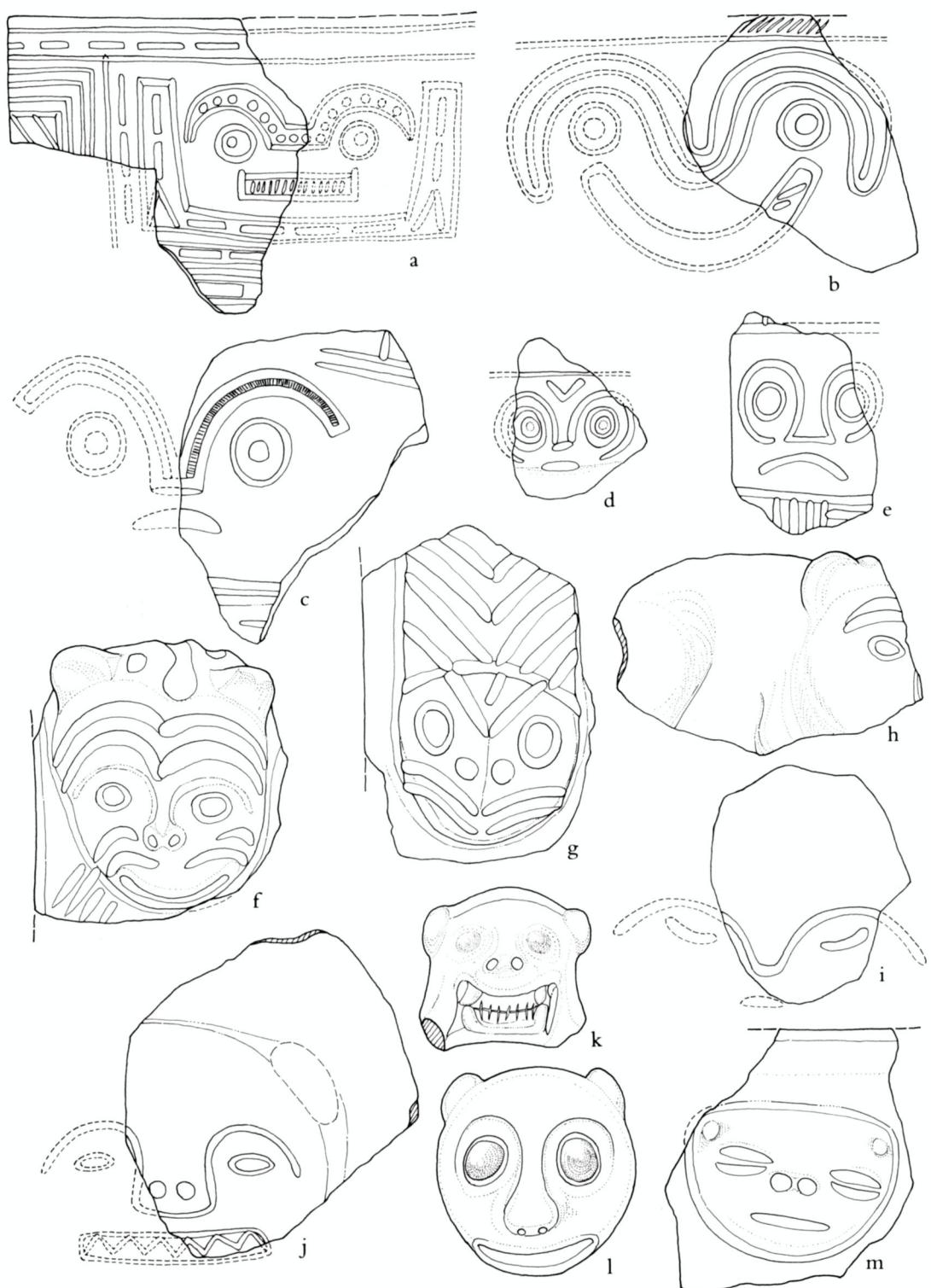


Fig. 3 Feline representations. a, Deep Incised Type. b–g, Broad-Line Incised Type. h–m, Modeled Type.

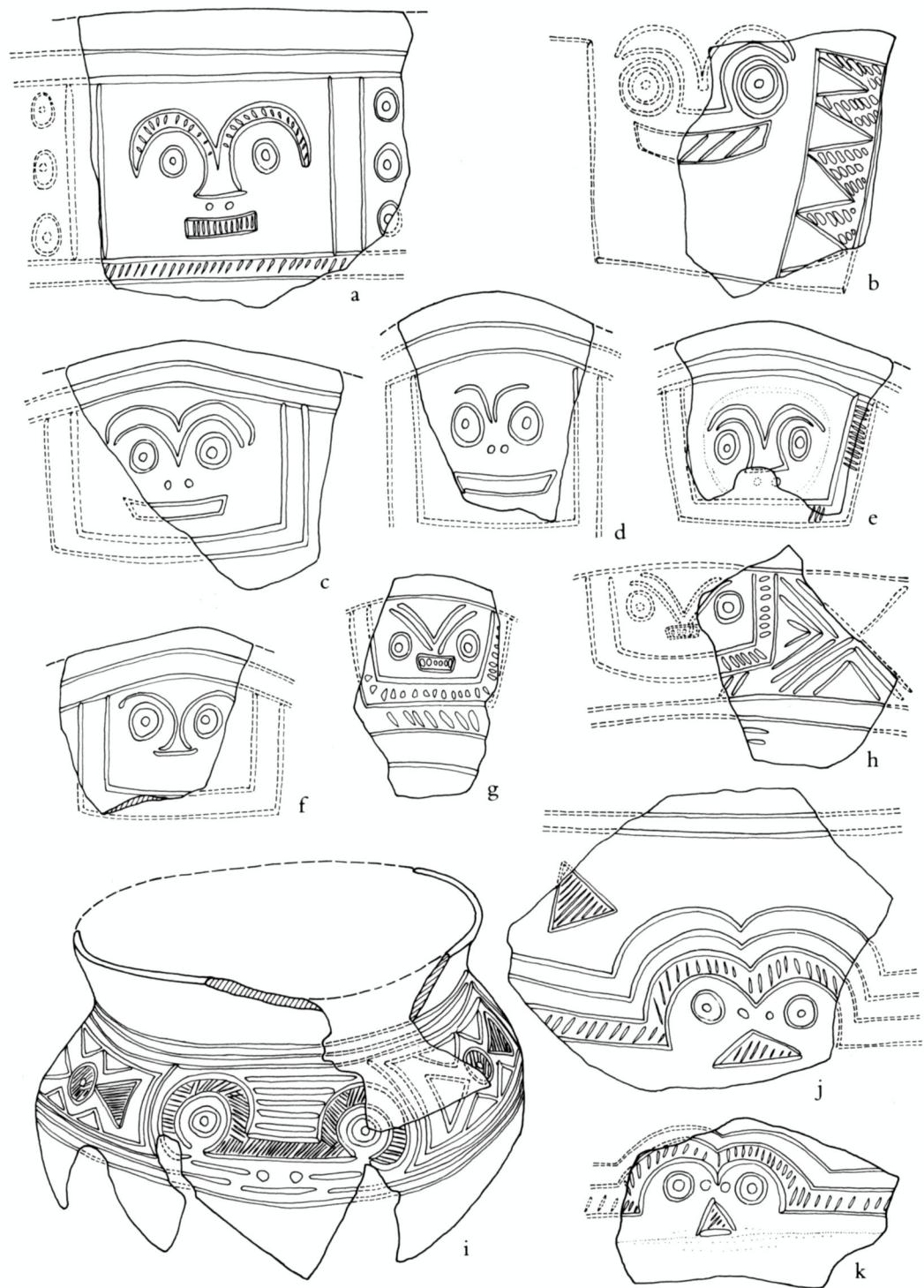


Fig. 4 Fine-line Incised Type. a–i, Feline representations. j, k, Bird representations.

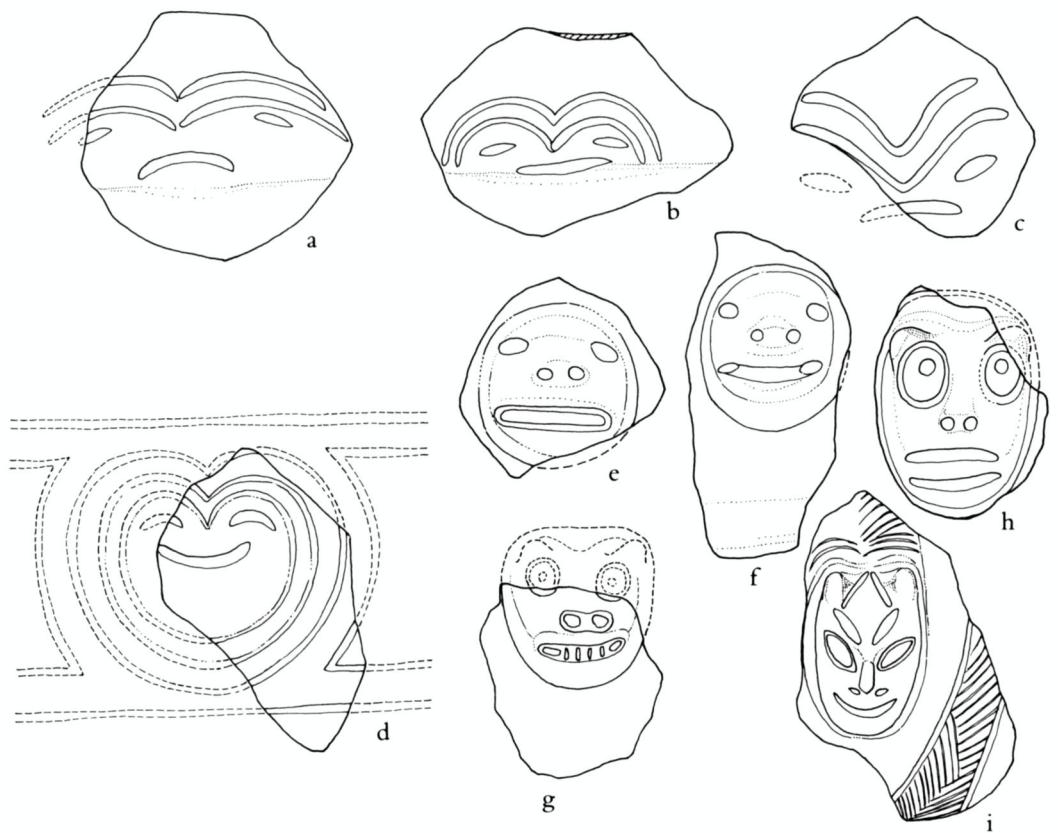


Fig. 5 Feline representations. a–h, Grooved Type. i, Brown Polished Incised Type.

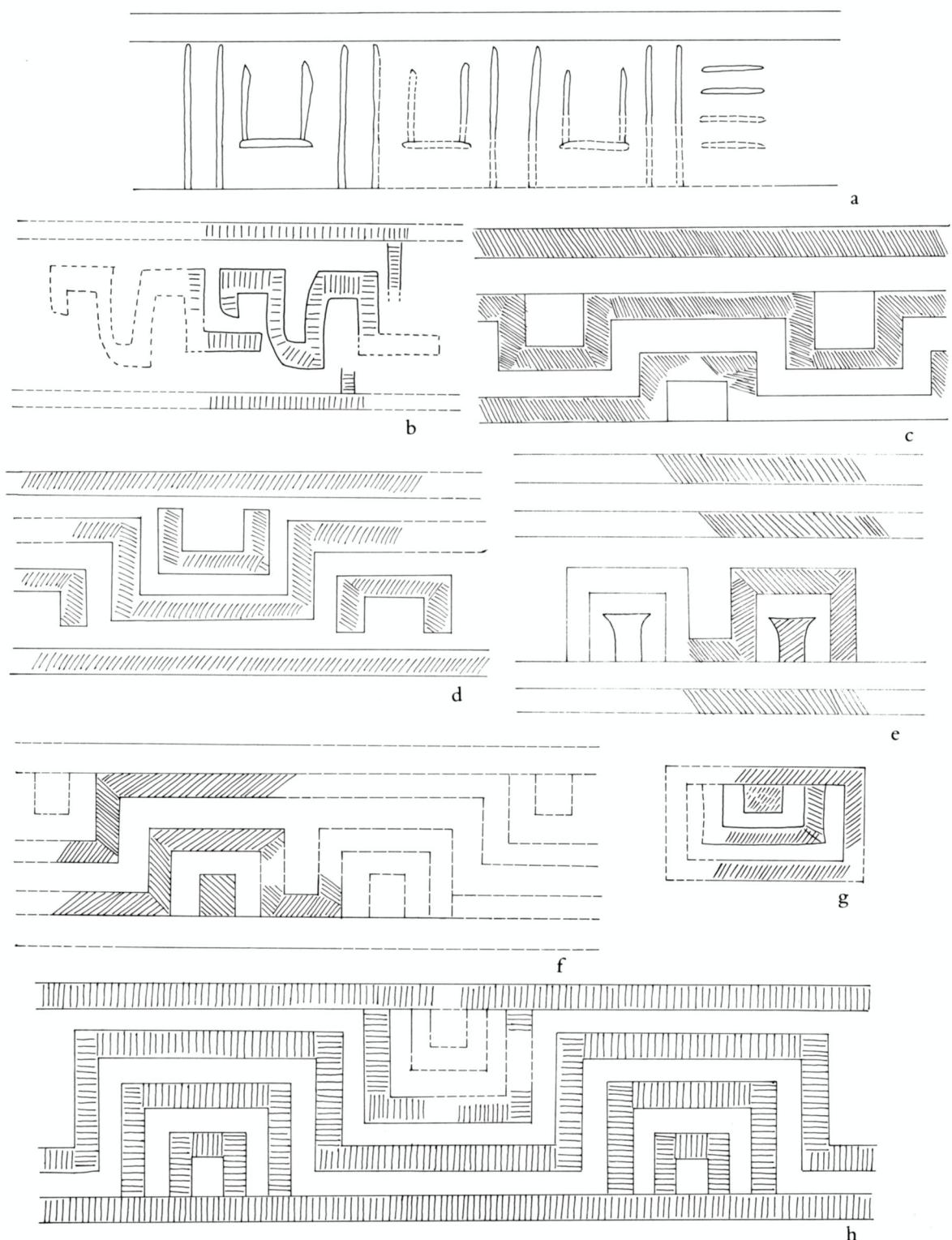
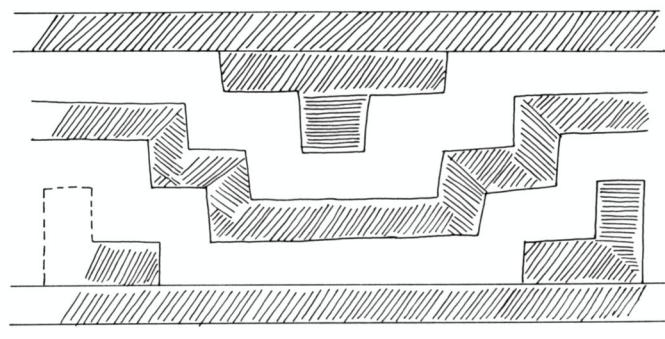
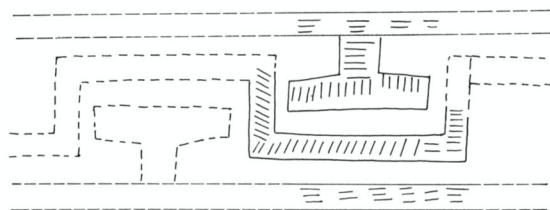


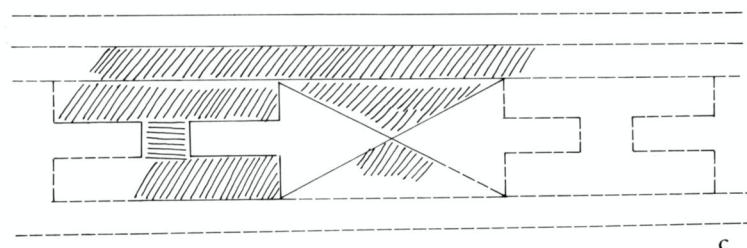
Fig. 6 U-shaped design patterns.



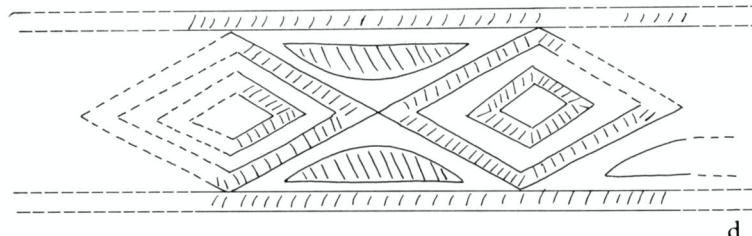
a



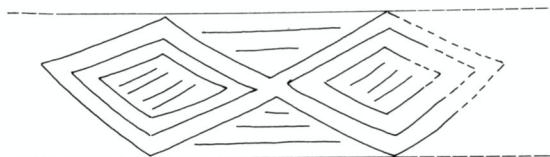
b



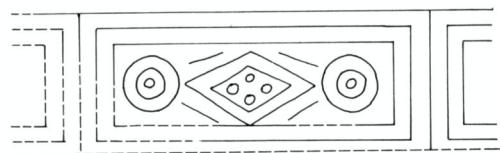
c



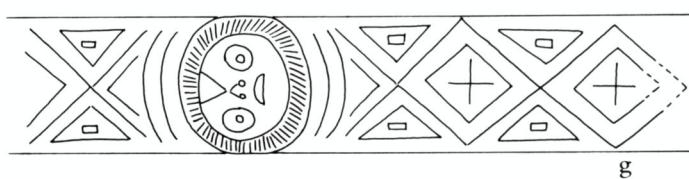
d



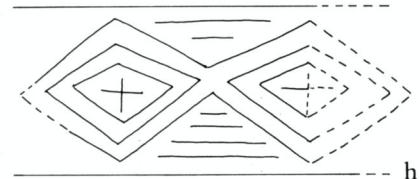
e



f



g



h

Fig. 7 a–c, T-shaped design patterns. d–h, Diamond-shaped design.

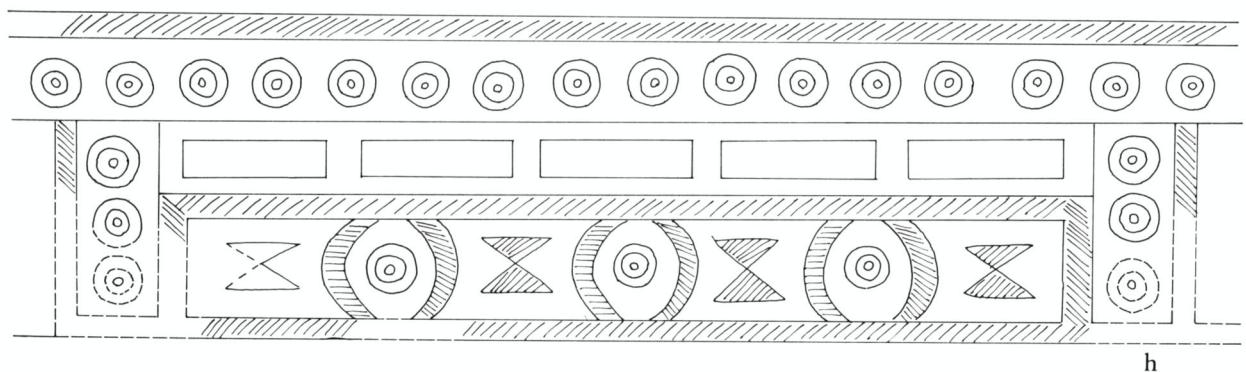
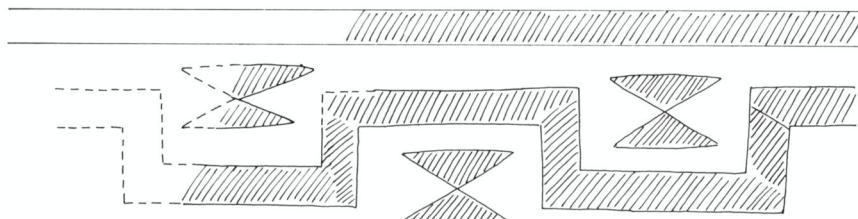
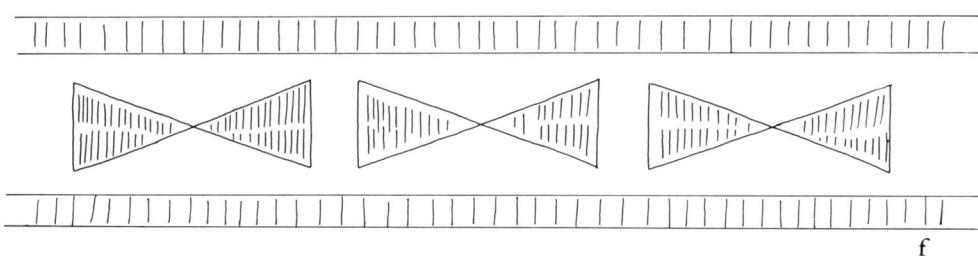
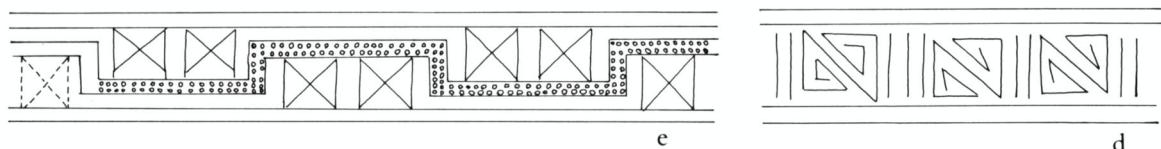
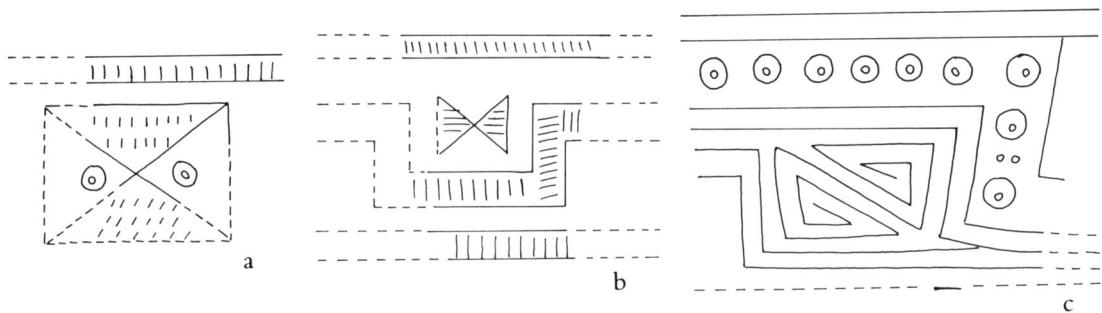


Fig. 8 a, b, e-h, Double triangular-shaped design. c, d, Spiral design motif.

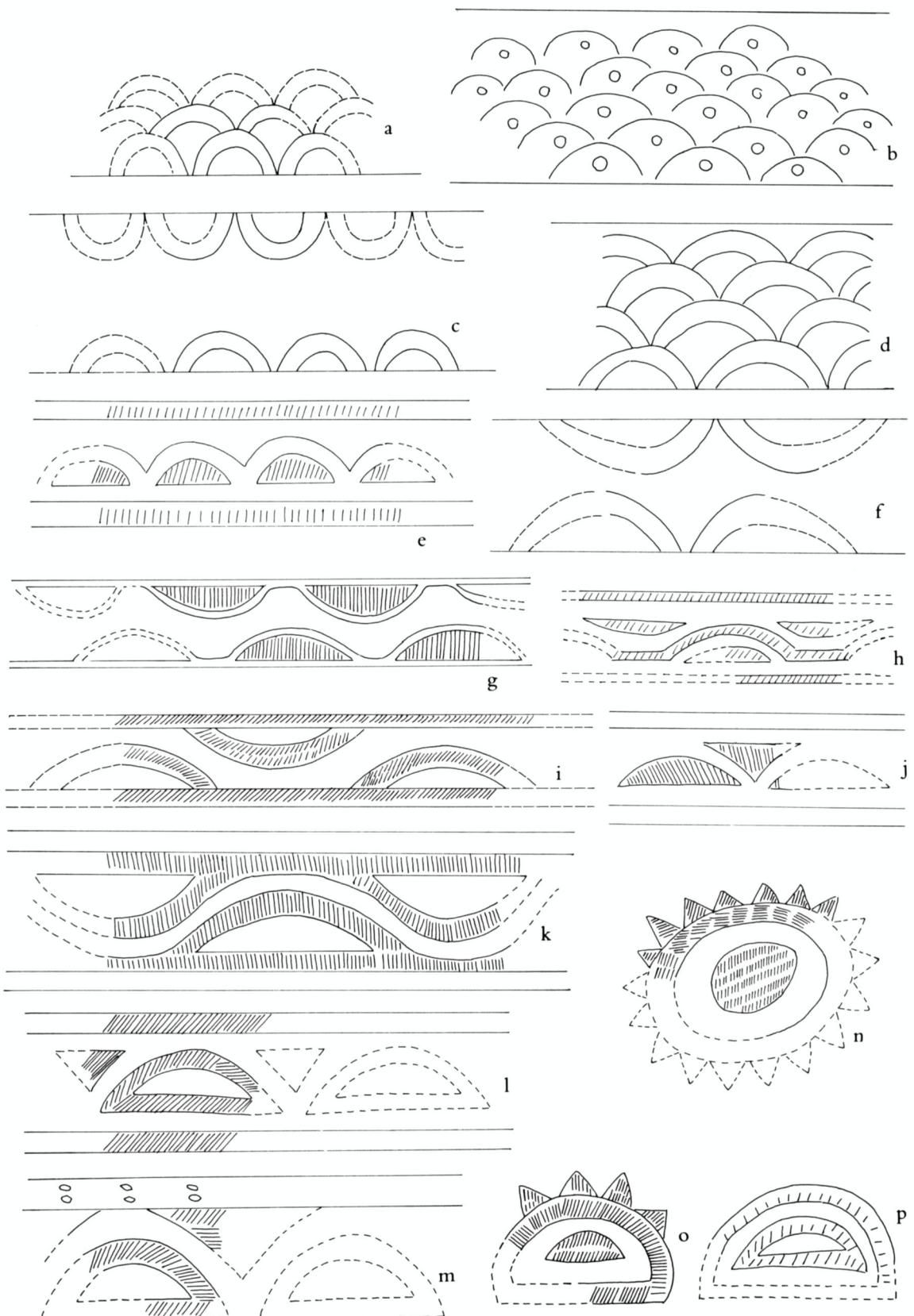


Fig. 9 a-i, k, Semicircular band design. j, l, m, Band design: combination of semicircles and triangles. n-p, Feline-eye design.

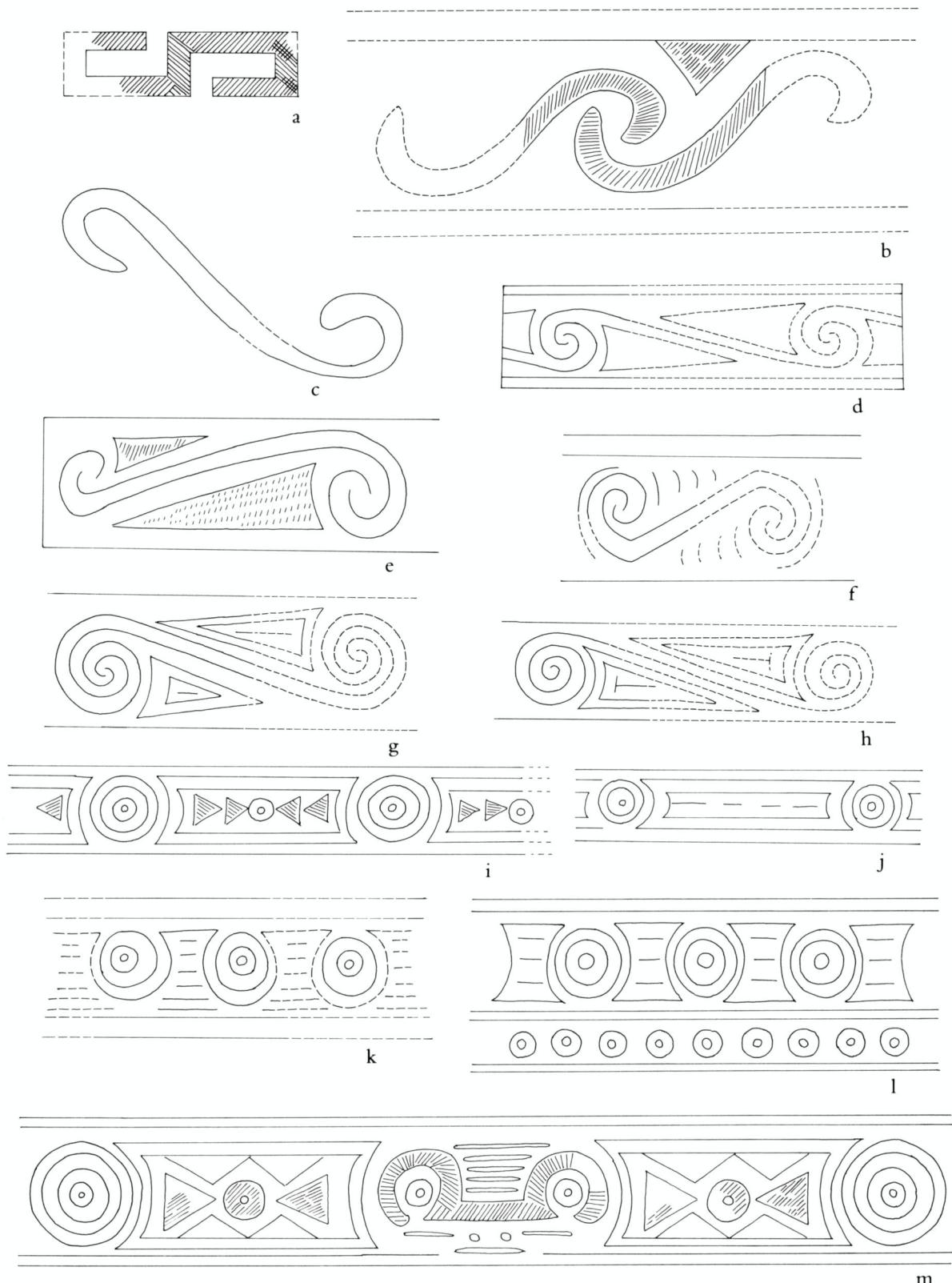


Fig. 10 a-h, Spiral design motif. i-m, Panel design band composed of concentric circles, short parallel lines, and triangles.

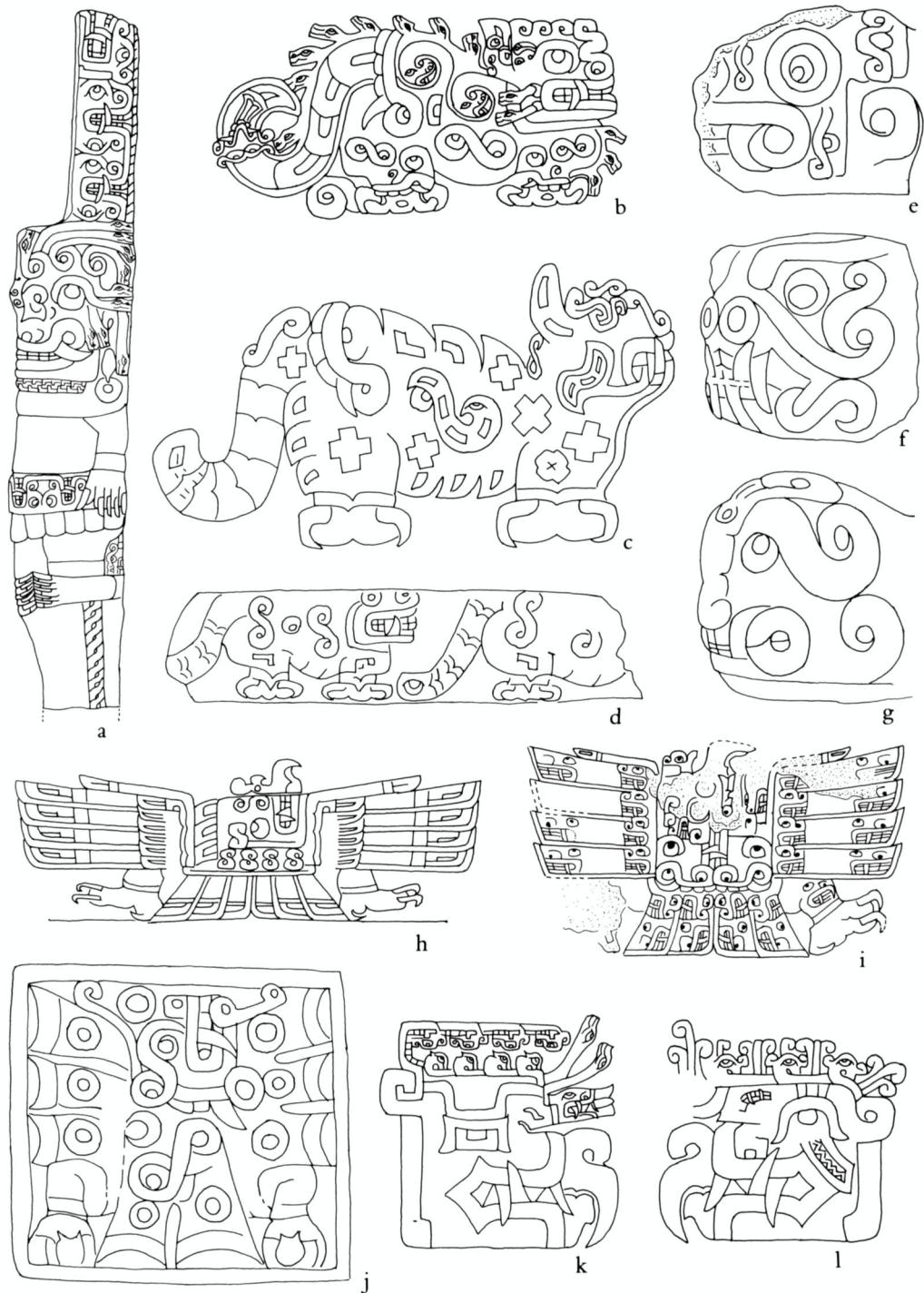


Fig. 11 Chavín art.



Fig. 12 Chavín art.

	Frontal Feline Mouth						Profile Feline Mouth																			
Chavin Phase	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
Kotosh Phase	a'	b'	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	h'	i'																	
Wairajirca Phase	j'	k'	l'	m'	n'	o'	p'	q'	r'	s'	t'	u'	v'	w'	x'	y'	z'	a''	b''							

Fig. 13 Representations of the feline mouth.

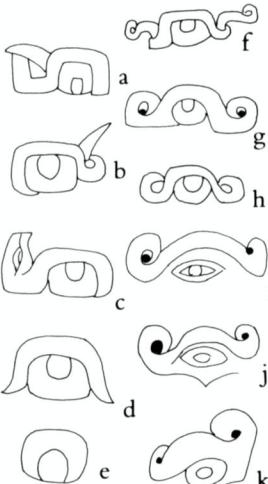
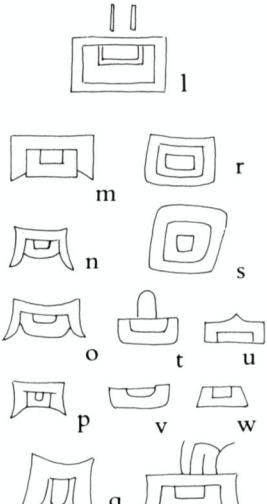
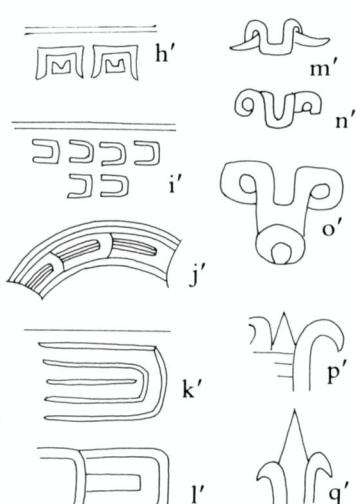
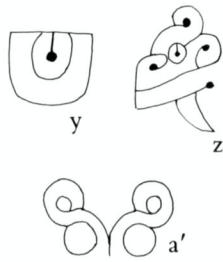
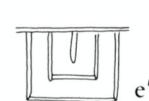
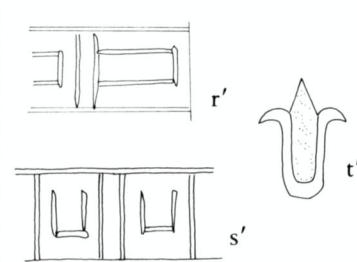
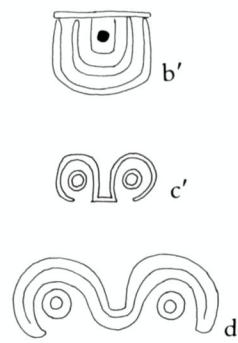
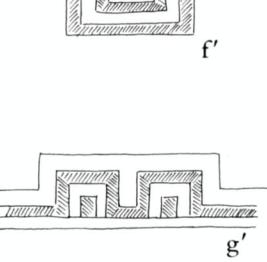
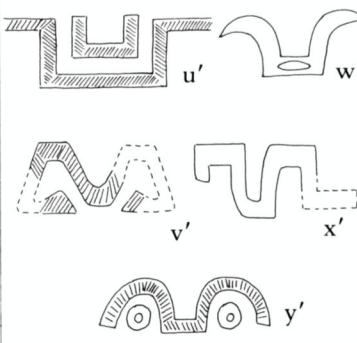
	Circular Feline Eye	Rectangular Feline Eye	U-shaped Design
Chavin Phase			
Kotosh Phase			
Wairajirca Phase			

Fig. 14 Representations of the feline eye.

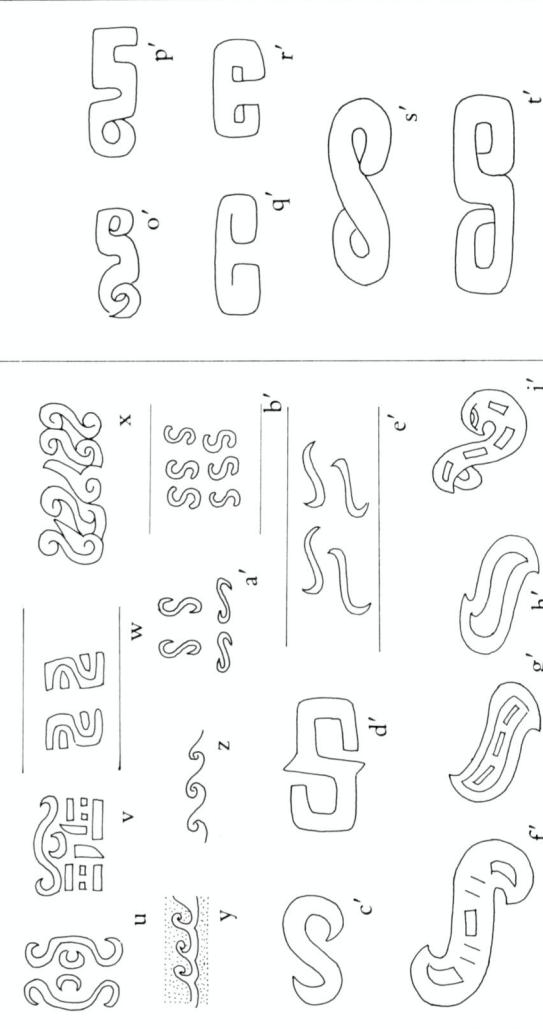
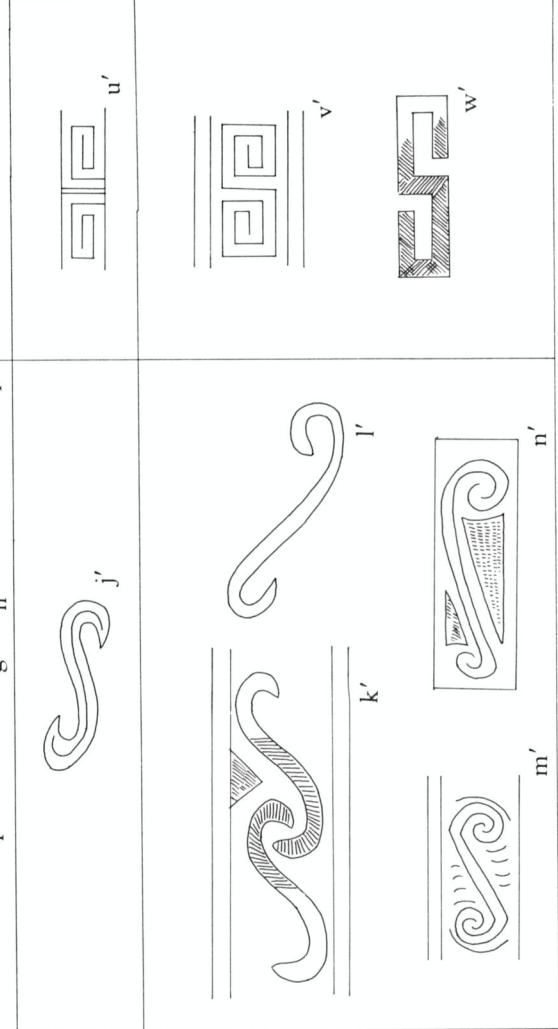
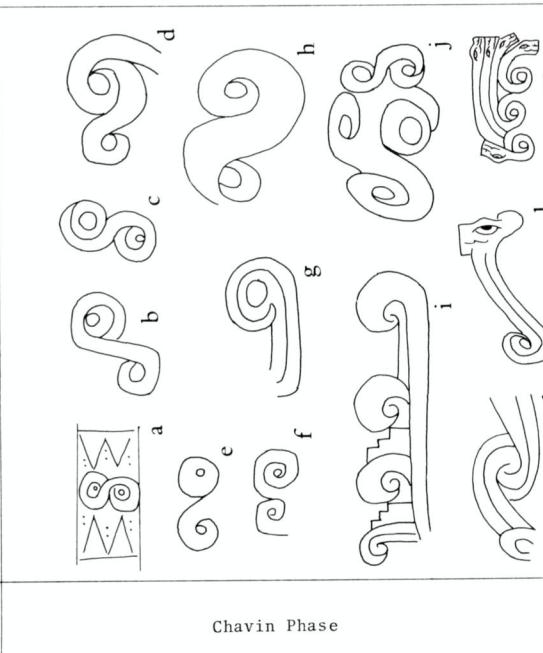
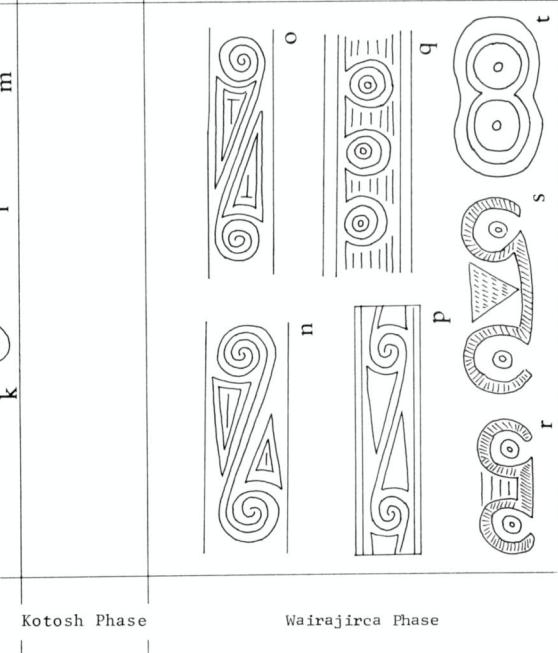
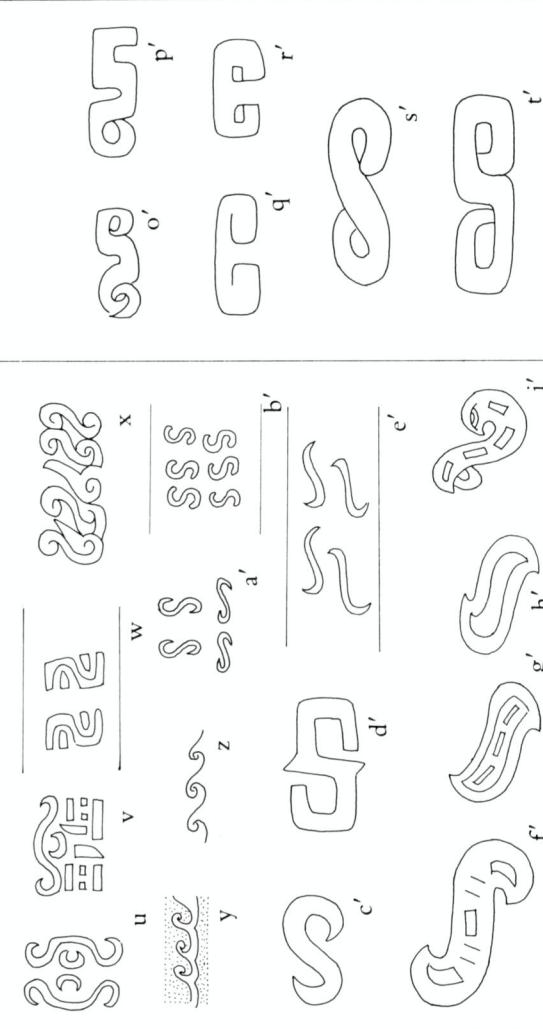
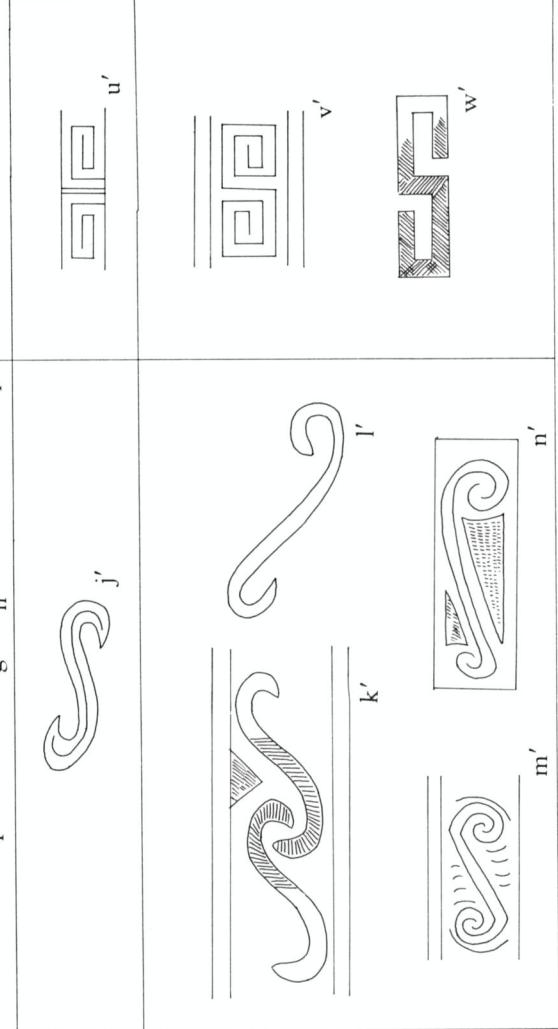
Spiral Design Motif	S-shaped or Cloud shaped Design	Fret Design
		
		
		

Fig. 15 Spiral design motif, S-shaped or cloud-shaped design, and fret design.

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